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ABSTRACT

Five articles and two review essays are presented on the history of American higher education between the Civil War and World War II. "Revisiting Hutchins" and "The Higher Learning in America" (Benjamin McArthur) discusses Robert Maynard Hutchins' 1936 publication which promoted development of liberal arts curricula. "The Graduate Education of a Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond and the University of Chicago" (Wayne Urban) looks at Bond's choice of a field of study, influential faculty members, and Chicago philanthropic connections. "Preserving the Pedestal: Restrictions on Social Life at Southern Colleges for Women, 1920-1940" (Amy Thompson McCandless) comments on southern colleges' promotion of traditional views of womanhood and their reinforcement of Southern paternalism. "The Founding and Early Years of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America" (Robert Fierstien) examines the Seminary's influence in the areas of Jewish education, social work, and Zionism and its development of university-trained, traditional rabbis. "Against the Odds: Mother Irene Gill and the Founding of the College of New Rochelle" (Tracy Mitrano) discusses Gill's influence on the development of this New York school. "Knowledge and Power: American Higher Education in the Twentieth Century: A Review Essay" (Robert Church) reviews three 1986 publications. "Social Science and the Social Functions of Ideas: A Review Essay" (Thomas Popkewitz) examines five 1984-1986 books which explore the professionalization of knowledge and the role of the intellectual in contemporary industrial societies. (JDD)

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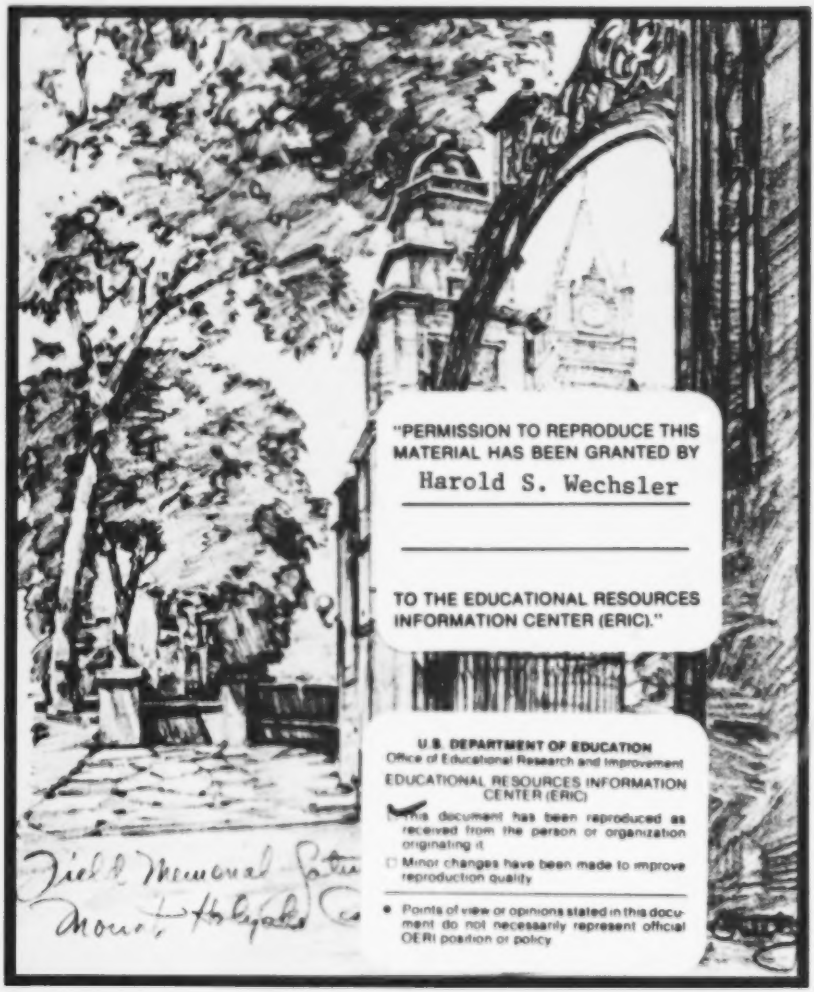

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On the cover: Field Memorial Gates of Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, circa 1912. Courtesy of Charles H. Overly Studios, Harvard, Massachusetts. Founded in 1837, Mount Holyoke celebrated its sesquicentennial this year.

Introduction to Volume Seven

JAMES McLACHLAN
Princeton, New Jersey

WHILE THE *HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL* encourages the submission of articles dealing with the history of higher education in every part of the world and in every period of time, more by chance than by editorial design all the essays in this issue deal with the history of American higher education between the Civil War and World War II. However, the subjects and themes of the following papers are perennial ones in the history of higher education—among others, the maintenance and transmission of a particular cultural tradition, social mobility, the quest for intellectual certitude and the search for social justice. The editors hope that each specialized study may illuminate another; that the whole may be greater than the parts.

Every religious confession that has arrived on American shores has faced the problem of perpetuating itself. Indeed, this is the oldest goal in the whole history of higher education in America; it led to the founding of the first American institution of the higher learning, Harvard. "One of the next things we longed for and looked after," reads a famous 1642 account of the founding of Puritan New England, "was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." Harvard was successful. But within three generations (according to academic folklore) some descendants of the Puritans found Harvard too "liberal" and established another, more "conservative" college, Yale. Over two-hundred years later another covenanted people, Jews from Germany and eastern Europe, found themselves in a similar situation in America. The Jewish Theological Seminary, as Robert Fierstien's article demonstrates, was, like Harvard, founded out of dread of leaving its denomination with "illiterate ministers." Moreover, the Theological Seminary was meant to play a role similar to early Yale's—as a conservative counterweight to the "liberal" Hebrew Union College. The historical analogy between Hebrew Union and Jewish Theological on the one hand, and early Harvard and Yale on the other, might profitably be played out at some length without stretching historical credibility.

If the early history of the Jewish Theological Seminary represents one denominational success story, that of the College of New Rochelle represents another. Irene Gill, New Rochelle's founder, was a particularly energetic example

of a type not uncommon in academic annals—the born entrepreneur -administrator. Like the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Gill built her institution on a solid base of comparatively recent immigrants to North America—in her case, the Irish. Like the founders of the Theological Seminary, Gill too wished to perpetuate her faith through concrete institutional means. But as a woman, she was obviously not in a position to train clergy. Instead, with an awe-inspring single-mindedness, she created in New Rochelle a veritable launching-pad for upward social mobility, propelling her students into the higher reaches of the new white collar classes of the early twentieth century. Tracy Mitrano's portrayal of Gill's College of New Rochelle stands in stark contrast to the stultifying world of the southern women's colleges sketched in Amy McCandless's essay. The differences between the northern and southern institutional and social milieux are so striking that they suggest that a close and extended comparison between the two sets of institutions might be most illuminating, as much for women's history as the history of higher education.

Irene Gill's career illuminates in very concrete terms some of the questions concerning the relation between higher education and the new managerial classes raised in Robert Church's provocative review essay. But Church's essay also poses questions of student motivation. "We would be immensely indebted," he writes, "to the historian who can disentangle the causal directions so that we can better understand the rationale behind individual decisions both to attend college and to avoid serious engagement with its curriculum." Perhaps the phenomenon of motivation can best be investigated at the level of biography, of which Wayne Urban's account of the education of Horace Mann Bond at the University of Chicago is a fine example. One of the rarest genres in the history of education at any level is the convincing depiction of the actual *process* of education—of precisely how and what an individual learned from year to year and how he changes because of that learning. Urban's portrait of Bond at Chicago illustrates precisely what Bond's motivations in attending Chicago were, and how they were changes, thwarted and fulfilled in practice. We need more careful reconstructions of the actual *process* of education at the personal level like Urban's before some of the questions posed by Church can be answered in any but the most general terms.

It may seem a long distance from the world of an aspiring black student like Horace Mann Bond to the world of a dean of the Yale Law School, Robert Maynard Hutchins. But in reality their worlds were closely linked: Bond's father was a trustee of Berea College in Kentucky; Hutchins' father was president of Berea. Bond's University of Chicago was Hutchins' University of Chicago. More connections between the two men could be drawn, but perhaps it is enough to

remind ourselves that both men lived in the same world and were parts of larger, supra-institutional, networks of association that have gone largely unexamined by historians. Bond's career was to a degree imposed on him by his high abilities and his race. He used the new social sciences, discussed in Thomas Popkewitz's review essay, to advance the cause of black Americans. The moral neutrality implicit in the social sciences instead led Robert Hutchins, in his *The Higher Learning in America,* to try to reconstitute the moral certitudes of his father's world as a ground of certain value for a new curriculum for higher education. It is a poignant story, and one well told in Benjamin McArthur's essay. Moreover, the issues raised by Hutchins in his book and during his term at the University of Chicago are still very much with us, as the current interest in the writing of Alan Bloom of the University of Chicago demonstrates.

Historical scholarship is a collaborative and cumulative enterprise. One seemingly specialized study may—and should—illuminate others. The editors of this journal hope in the future to offer more on other institutions and other subjects, other places and other times.

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Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*

BENJAMIN McARTHUR
Southern College

WHEN WILLIAM JAMES SPOKE of the buzzing, blooming confusion of life he referred not to education—but he might as well have. For if any subject has remained the sport of philosophers and cranks and sober commissions it is education. This necessary companion of democracy never escapes the arena of debate, offering itself always ready for further reform. To the same degree that Americans are never content with themselves or their society they are ever willing to remake the next generation through a remodeled curriculum.

Americans of the 1980's find themselves again preoccupied with the nation's learning, concern being meted out to elementary, secondary, and higher education. Though the nation's future probably hinges more critically on the education of our lower and middle levels, this paper will linger among the groves of academia. In particular I wish to return attention to an educator who in his lifetime never needed help in attracting notice: Robert Maynard Hutchins. No man abhorred the confusion afflicting education more than Hutchins, and no individual dedicated himself so completely to its removal. He defined the problem and proposed his solution in his most famous book, *The Higher Learning in America*. With the fiftieth anniversary of his 1936 publication just past, and occurring amidst many calls for the kind of curricular reform of which Hutchins would have encouraged, the time is propitious to reexamine the book and its author. If *The Higher Learning in America* now reads in some respects as an artifact of 1930's intellectual history, it nonetheless remains our most eloquent plea for an untarnished liberal arts curriculum.

I

Considering his prominence as administrator and public figure for five decades, Robert Hutchins's place in both educational history and American intellectual history is remarkably unsettled. His lasting contribution has yet to be defined, and in some quarters remains the suspicion that there was more fury than substance to the man. Today one probably thinks of Hutchins first as the

controversial university president of the 1930's and 1940's, and second as the founder of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. He is normally remembered as an Aristotelian, an ardent champion of civil liberties, the Great Books, adult education, and as a wide-ranging intellectual whose caustic one-liners made him among the country's most quotable men. These generalizations are accurate; still, his career bears a quick recounting, for his is one of the remarkable lives of American education.

Robert Maynard Hutchins came by his evangelical reformism honestly, born in 1899 the son of a Presbyterian minister who would teach theology at Oberlin in Robert's youth and later be president of that progressive institution in Kentucky, Berea College. World War I interrupted the younger Hutchins's college work at Oberlin, and when he returned stateside he completed his undergraduate degree at Yale in 1921. Hutchins moved from one conquest to another in the intellectual circles of Yale. Like his father before him, Hutchins captured the DeForest Prize for oratory. He graduated with honors and won election to Wolf's Head and Phi Beta Kappa. But it was his eloquence teamed with an unbridled frankness that first made his reputation as the *enfant terrible* of American education. At an alumni dinner his senior year attended by Yale' s notables of past and present, Hutchins delivered an address in his characteristically blunt manner cataloguing the school's failures. He offended some of the old guard, but he impressed others, including president-elect James Rowland Angell.[1] After a brief stint of secondary teaching Hutchins was called by Angell back to New Haven as secretary of the Yale Corporation.

An important university administrator at age 21, the regimen of committees and fund raising could not consume the energies of one who rivaled Ben Franklin in his loathing of idleness. He took law courses on the side, receiving his L.L.B. in 1925. Hutchins was appointed lecturer in public service law and trade regulation upon graduation, the areas where he made his contribution in a brief career of scholarship. Administration beckoned again in 1927. He became the compromise candidate for acting—and the next year permanent—dean of Yale Law School in 1927. Hutchins arrived at the moment when Yale sought its own answer to the preeminence of Harvard Law School. Consequently, senior professors were willing to support the radical changes their precocious dean proposed, which were many—including the raising of entrance standards, introducing honors courses and independent studies, and realigning the whole curriculum.[2] Hutchins's law school reforms centered on attempts to make it a bastion of legal realism. Together with Milton Winternitz, dean of the medical school, he organized the Institute of Human Relations, where the analytical tools of the various social sciences could illumine the study of law. In retrospect the

Institute, with its prevailing empiricism and social utilitarianism, seems a strange prelude to Hutchins's later pronouncements on education. The future champion of scholasticism was well veiled as legal realist. Yet in other respects Hutchins's law school years anticipate important themes of his presidency: a desire to bring the professional school studies closer to those of the academic departments, an interdisciplinary spirit seeking the unity of all knowledge, and perhaps above all, a regret at the absence of a community of scholars, the single most important theme of his career.[3]

Hutchins again displayed his Midas touch at fund raising by enticing a munificent start-up grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the Institute. But he would not be around to nurture his brain child. In the spring of 1929 he received and accepted an offer to become the fifth president of the University of Chicago. How did it happen that an impetuous thirty-year old would be named to head what some feel what was then the finest research university in America? Robert Hutchins was not the search committee's first choice. His extraordinary talents, associates felt, needed seasoning. "His enthusiasm and perspective are not yet disciplined or matured by sufficient experience," advised Angell.[4] Yet as other candidates fell by the wayside Hutchins's name reemerged, bolstered by the endorsement of several foundation heads regarding his skills at bringing in funds. The search committee, more importantly, fell under the spell of Hutchins's inordinate charm. The youth of this Lochinvar now appeared a virtue; the choice of president became a recreation of the University's founding by another prodigy from Yale, William Rainey Harper.

Hutchins's inauguration in the fall of 1929 began an eventful if contentious twenty-two year tenure. He inherited a university already engaged in self-scrutiny. The curricular reforms of the 1930's, as is often pointed out, owed much to faculty and administrative plans pre-dating Hutchins's arrival. But to these the new president added enthusiasm and a sense of urgency. His conversion to the gospel of liberal arts learning, preached to him by Mortimer Adler, affected (infected, critics might say) nearly every dealing with the faculty. While agreement existed that the college, that "unwanted, ill-begotten brat," should be strengthened, fundamental differences appeared over the animating philosphy of the change. The entrenched graduate divisions viewed the college as preliminary training grounds for specialists. Hutchins and the other college reformers saw it as having an integrity of its own, the domain of general education rather than specialization. Through the thirties and forties these differences inspired the "Chicago fights," which intermittently lit up the landscape of American education.[5]

Tracing the Byzantine course of curricular reform in these years need not occupy space here. Suffice it to note that the "Hutchins College" never existed, at least in the form he desired of a liberal arts curriculum based on the Great Books. The nearest approximation came with the 1942 reform creating an integrated four-year program devoted to general education. Richard McKeon, Joseph Schwab, and Clarence Faust among others were more responsible for the details of the program than Hutchins. His contribution always resided more in the encouragement of change and support of his faculty allies than in nuts and bolts planning. Like most visionaries Hutchins functioned best as conceptualizer and exhorter rather than as technician.

The controversies that swirled about Hutchins reached beyond the internecine fights with the faculty. On two occasions he had to defend the University against charges of "subversive activities." The first, in 1935, was occasioned by complaints of drugstore magnate Charles Walgreen that his niece was taught radicalism in her college classes. Not only did the Illinois Legislature exonerate the school, but Hutchins and his able publicist William Benton, talked Walgreen into a half-million dollar bequest. A second investigation in 1949 partook of the Cold War anxieties about internal subversion. This prelude to McCarthyism matched Hutchins at his acerb best against the investigating Broyles Commission of the Illinois Legislature. Once again Chicago was judged sound, and Hutchins added to his reputation as a leading defender of academic freedom.[5]

Hutchins also stirred debate (and possibly lost some esteem) by his adamant opposition to U.S. entry in World War II. As in most of his stands on public issues, he staunchly adhered to what he considered the morally and philosophically correct position; compromise or expediency were always repulsive notations to one who was in the truest sense a moralist. After the war Hutchins just as firmly embraced internationalism. The man who pledged the University's support for the Manhattan Project led the drive for a world constitution to control the Project's ultimate, awful creation. Hutchins's Wilsonianism was apt, for if there was another person whose career appeared to be a model for his it was Woodrow Wilson. As champion of a rigorous humanities curriculum at Princeton Wilson's idea of what should constitute a college education resembled Hutchins's. Moreover, many of Hutchins's contemporaries felt it was just a matter of time before he would follow the path of Princeton's scholar-statesman into public service. It would not be. Though rumors flew about during the halcyon days of the New Deal that FDR had pegged Hutchins for the Supreme Court or to head the Securities and Exchange Commission, neither job materialized. He was too much the maverick, too outspoken even in his criticism of the Democratic Party. Hutchins always performed best as the detached critic of society's institutions.

How, then, did Robert Hutchins survive twenty-two years in a job that normally places a premium on sedateness? To be sure, University board members occasionally bristled at his thoughtless jabs directed at the business world and grew weary at what seemed an extreme defense of academic freedom. That Hutchins concluded the longest tenure of any University of Chicago president resided in several facts, all of them crucial. He had, first, the support of a devoted, even adoring board chairman: Harold Swift. Hyde Park's university, not the stockyards, was Swift's first love, and he saw in Hutchins a man whose talents were worth the price of some lost corporate gifts. Hutchins, for his part, commanded the public's attention, and the University became synonymous with educational innovation. Even the trustees, as one board member acknowledged later, were kept in a state of "healthy agitation." They respected Hutchins's intellectual powers—and his considerable skills at fund raising.[7] Finally, Hutchins longevity bespoke his administrative prowess. If he defied some of the axioms of administration he did so in the belief that leadership (and not more office-holding) required it. The image of Hutchins as independent iconclast, prone to sarcasm and insult—an image cultivated by Hutchins's aides—should not obscure his organizational command.[8] Not the command, certainly, of a Harper or an Andrew Dickson White—faculty autonomy had become too well-entrenched for that—but a leadership that achieved substantial curricular reform nevertheless. Hutchins could persuade a reluctant board to endorse most of his ideas, whether it be holding firm on faculty salaries during the depression or taking ownership of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Nevertheless, the years took their toll on Hutchins's enthusiasm for academic administration. After his 1944 attempt to strengthen presidential authority, University faculty rebelled. Hutchins had become to them a kind of "man on horseback," subverting faculty prerogatives in his determined pursuit of a unified learning. The Senate memorial to the University trustees signed by 120 full professors signalled the most serious faculty opposition Hutchins ever faced and required him to back down on some issues. From that point on Hutchins's attention moved increasingly from University affairs to his various commission memberships and chairmanship of *Britannica*. Wearied of carping faculty and the ceaseless solicitation of funds, the offer to be an associate director of the new Ford Foundation was irresistable. The spring of 1951 brought his final graduation commencement as presiding officer.

Hutchins's second career—at the Ford Foundation, its Fund for the Republic, and the Fund's own creation, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions—has been more thoroughly chronicled than his presidency and must occupy us but a moment here.[9] The Ford Foundation's championing of civil liberties ran directly into the buzz saw of McCarthyism in the early 1950's.

Hutchins directed the Fund for the Republic, a Ford Foundation offspring devoted to the study of American freedom. Lavishly funded but increasingly distanced from its parent because of the attacks it engendered, the Fund for the Republic nevertheless performed a yeoman's task through the decade in publishing bold studies of blacklisting, discrimination in housing, American Communism, and other controversial subjects. It further sponsored a plethora of pamphlets, advertisements, film clips, and group discussions extolling America's tradition of civil liberties. Robert Hutchins never left education, then, he simply moved to new venues of instruction. An exponent of adult education while still at Chicago (the Great Books of the Western World originated in an executive's Great Book discussion class he led in downtown Chicago), Hutchins made the Fund for the Republic a national school for citizenship.

As the nation recovered from the fever of McCarthyism and threats to civil liberties seemed less imminent, Hutchins moved the Fund in new directions. He still sought his ideal university, one without credits or grades or even students. He determined, with the underwriting of the Fund, to establish his own Acropolis where a baker's dozen of thinkers would write, but more importantly *discuss*, the fundamental issues facing humanity. This, of course, became the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. Amidst the storied opulence of the Center Hutchins and his academy sought to "Keep the Dialogue alive." As at Chicago, Hutchins could not escape the endless rounds of fund raising and internal dissent. The final, sad years of the Center that preceded Hutchins's death in 1977 should not detract from a career distinguished by a commitment to ideas. No agreement exists on the useful legacy of the Center, but the one criterion Hutchins would have applied is the controversy it evoked. By this measure it succeeded wonderfully.

II

The "boy wonder" (a sarcastic tag that Hutchins could never shake) took up his duties at the University on the brink of a national depression. But the immediacy of that crisis did not deter him from fulminating against academia's grievous sins (as he saw them). The occasion for his major constructive statement on education came with the invitation to deliver the Storrs Lectures at Yale Law School in 1936. Published, these are *The Higher Learning in America*.

The book's rhetorical nature becomes quickly apparent. Hutchins was most effective as a speech maker, one of the educational world's most sought after throughout his presidential tenure. Commencement addresses, national radio talks, speeches to businessmen's luncheons and educational gatherings: he

addressed hundreds of groups. These were the origin of almost all of his published writings and the source of his—and by extension the University of Chicago's—high visibility in the thirties and forties. Hutchins left a significant corpus of writings, but he could not bestow the presence of the man who first delivered them. The 6-foot 3-inch president, handsome, urbane, and possessed by his sharp wit, cut a figure reminiscent of the Hollywood screen's leading men. Schooled in the humor of Franklin P. Adams's "Conning Tower" column while at Yale, Hutchins would in fact have been comfortable among the wits at the Algonquin. His formal addresses and personal conversations were filled with clever insults, contrived for their shock value. Hutchins, a friend noted, had the tendency "to go out and poke the other guy in the puss and see what will happen."[10] In turn he was also disarmingly self-depreciating. His rhetorical style, aggressive, self-assured, and occasionally flip and hyperbolic, combined with his commanding physical presence charmed audiences. If any figure in the history of America education may be said to have possessed charisma it would be Robert Hutchins.

The major ideas incorporated in *The Higher Learning in America* were formed early in Hutchins's presidency. His University convocation address in 1933 spoke of the bewilderment of education, the central problem he would speak to in his Yale lectures. Explaining the origins of his thought is less easy, though. While one can identify elements of his Yale training in his work—the well-honed argument of the debater encased in the vivid imagery of the orator—Hutchins's conversion from the empiricism of his law school days to the search for first principles that characterized his Chicago career defies easy explanation. Hutchins's clearest statement on his disillusionment with a functional approach to law came in another 1933 address: "The Autobiography of an Ex-law Student."[11] If Hutchins's description of his intellectual hegira is correct he was ripe for the influence of someone who could offer the promise of order. The person who appeared at Hutchins's law school office door one day in 1928, Mortimer Adler, would be that one.

Two people more different in background, appearance, and temperament than Adler and Hutchins would be hard to imagine. Yet the strong-willed Hutchins dated his "true" education from the beginning of their association during his Yale deanship. Adler's need for intellectual order was by his own confession compulsive. Somewhat of a rogue figure in American academic circles, Adler's career has centered about the quest for the Holy Grail of philosophical unity. He was part of the circle influenced by the remarkable John Erskine in his Columbia College General Honors Course after World War I. Together with Richard McKeon, Stringfellow Barr, and Scott Buchanan, Adler sought to define a new unity for all learning through a comprehensive study of

the great thinkers of the Western tradition. In Adler, Hutchins found a companion and intellectural guide, the key figure in his transition to the neo-scholasticism of the 1930's. Adler, in turn, found an academic home (unfriendly though it was to the brash New Yorker) when Hutchins invited him to Chicago soon after assuming the presidency. If Robert Hutchins was the Absalom of the educational world, seeking to overthrow the enthroned order, Mortimer Adler was his Achitophel, whispering encouragement and advice.

The Higher Learning in America bespeaks Hutchins's educational ideals, battered but not defeated by his six contentious years astride the University of Chicago. As in all of Hutchins's writings the thesis of *The Higher Learning in America* is simple, direct, and stated as provocatively as possible. "The most striking fact about the higher learning in America," Hutchins begins, "is the confusion that besets it."[12] Qualities endemic to American society engender this confusion. First, money, "the mother's milk of education," exercises its beguiling power over educators, who have compromised their purpose to its pursuit. Second, a misplaced notion of democracy has diluted curricular standards and encouraged legislative meddling in the same. An erroneous belief in progress, finally, has supplanted traditional studies with a progressive curriculum that must always be revised to stay abreast of new knowledge.

If an educational system mirrors the nature of society and that society is given to mercenary values, how can it escape contamination? Only, Hutchins believes, by having institutions firm against the tides of opinion. But in accomplishing this universities face their greatest dilemma: how to reconcile the search for truth as an end in itself with most students' goal of vocational preparation. Careerism breeds professional schools that replace a study of their discipline's principles with the trite and impermanent techniques of operation. Professors of medicine, economics, psychology, or law cease to speak to one another, separated by the self-imposed obsession with the particulars of their field. "Vocationalism leads, then, to triviality and isolation; it debases the course of study and the staff."[13]

Hutchins's offense at the implicit anti-intellectualism of an education devoted to practical training was hardly novel. An even stronger indictment of this system had in fact come a few years earlier, in 1930, when Abraham Flexner's *Universities: American, English, German* appeared, itself the product of his 1928 Oxford lectures. In language that occasionally approached bombast Flexner berated universities for having "needlessly cheapened, vulgarized, and mechanized themselves." Flexner particularly took aim at the University of Chicago of the 1920's as an example of misguided education purveying such trivial programs as "costume design" and "psychology of advertising and sell-

ing." "That the prestige of the University of Chicago should be used to bamboozle well-meaning but untrained persons with the notion that they can receive a high school or college education is scandalous." Hutchins owed a debt to Flexner's critique, even to the delight they both took in reciting the most trivial courses contained in any college catalogue (Hutchins, tactfully, avoiding his own). But the two men parted over their vision of the ideal university; Flexner sought not an intellectual community addressing common problems but a research community of scholars in the German tradition.[14] He thus offers less guidance than Hutchins for those of us seeking a path to the education of the general citizenry.

After setting out education's besetting temptation in his first two lectures Hutchins reveals his blueprint in the final two. At the heart of his program is his distinction between general education and "The Higher Learning." General education is that common body of learning students ought to pursue in college (or more properly, during the final two years of high school and the first two of college, at which time, Hutchins believed, the B.A. degree ought to be granted. This novel approach was in fact adopted in Hutchins's college for a few years in the 1930's and early 1940's). Hutchins agrees with John Dewey that education should prepare students for action in life. But rather than turn schools into a practicum for life he believes that college learning should be pervasively intellectual. Not character training, social skills, or vocational preparation, but "the cultivation of the intellect" must form the bark and core of true education. The skills of a clear, flexible mind will have greater utility in all fields than one harnessed to pedestrian facts and techniques. Science must, then, take a backseat to a vigorous curriculum of the liberal arts. These studies will consist of a close reading of Western culture's classics. Hutchins was fond of saying that education should be the same "at any time, in any place;" yet he tempers that universalism by acknowledging that we ought primarily to read the thinkers of our tradition, from Herodotus to William James. The medieval trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, easily translates into the trivium for modern times, reading, writing, and reasoning—skills marking educated people today as surely as in Abelard's Paris.

Securely grounded in the elements of learning, the student then proceeds in his junior year to the university for his higher education. Swept away from Hutchins's ivy halls are the cluttered variety of departments and courses to choose from. Missing is the obsession with empirical data. Instead, one finds a simple division of the faculty into metaphysics, social science, and natural science. And in place of a learning without coherence or order students would discover a hierarchy of truths. This principle of unity is for Hutchins the essential

element of the higher learning. Where theology unified the medieval university, Hutchins stated, our "faithless generation" must find the same end in metaphysics, the science of first principles. No matter the profession to which students ultimately aspire, their curriculum will be much the same: courses in metaphysics to begin, then proceeding to those in social and natural sciences. The mix will vary depending on their vocational goal, but all will graduate having thought seriously about "fundamental problems." What of professional schools, programs of vocational study, and scholars dedicated to the collection of data? Since these deal with transitory techniques or the mere cataloguing of data and not with the expounding of timeless truths they must be at the periphery of the university or even beyond. Affiliated research institutes can continue their aggregation of facts; professional schools will likewise become either free standing or loosely affiliated to the university. Their mission of technical training must no longer subvert the university's more proper commitment to providing an intellectual framework of understanding.

Such is Robert Hutchins's vision of a reformed American education. His is, it hardly needs saying, an idiosyncratic one, but not one formed apart from the influence of other important education theorists. Most directly, of course, he came within the sphere of Adler, Buchanan, and the other advocates of the liberal arts movement.[15] Less direct than his contemporaries but always a hovering presence in Hutchins's work is the influence of John Henry Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University*. Newman framed the problem that had changed but a little eighty years later, to wit: On what basis does one construct a unified program of university study? Only, Newman responded through the integrative power of theology, which is "a condition of general knowledge." This Thomistic scheme of education that Newman championed overtly and Hutchins in a necessarily more veiled, secular idiom, gave a special place to Aristotle as "The oracle of nature and truth." "We cannot help, to a great extent, being Aristotelians . . . In many subject matters, to think correctly is to think like Aristotle." This happens to be Newman, but Hutchins would later appropriate the quote.[16] University education as "intellectual, not moral," knowledge as its own end, and the highest learning being general ideas rather than particulars: these retorts of Newman to educational utilitarians anticipated and surely shaped Hutchins's similar broadsides of the next century. Though Newman wrote in a more explicitly religious age than did Hutchins, the acids of secularism were already dissolving theology's educational bond. Newman's early warning would give way to Hutchins's rearguard action.

If in Cardinal Newman Hutchins found a compatible conservatism, in Thorstein Veblen he located an indigenous educational radicalism. Hutchins

never said whether his borrowing of Veblen's title, *The Higher Learning in America,* signified an intellectual obligation, but there can be little doubt that he saw his book as a companion to Veblen's revolutionary manifesto. It should be remembered that the first *Higher Learning* was even more a University of Chicago product than the second. Veblen acknowledged that most of his observations for this 1907 book derived from the University under William Rainey Harper (who is left unnamed). In analysis and prescription the two books differ markedly. As always, Veblen is obsessed with the insidiousness of business values, in this case detracting from the university's disinterested pursuit of knowledge. Hutchins could never (at least in print) display such contempt for business or business schools as did Veblen. Himself a "captain of erudition," Hutchins faced constraints that Veblen refused to feel. Also unlike Hutchins's Veblen's university was to be a place of research not instruction (an attitude which by most accounts he carried into the classroom). The prose of the two men, finally, could hardly be more different. Hutchins's rhetorically powerful essays, direct and transparent, have little in common with Veblen's detached, almost clinical prose. Both employ sarcasm regularly. But where Hutchins wears it on his sleeve, Veblen's suddenly flashes forth out of his abstruse and at times nearly impenetrable prose. His is social criticism disguised as case study. Very different books, then, but bound by their iconoclasm. Hutchins's version lacks the profundity of Veblen's insights into the social forces working on education, but he matches the dour Norseman's self-conscious dissent from the accepted canons of higher education. And though his alienation from American life was by no means as thorough as Veblen's (who was always an outsider), Hutchins perhaps displayed the greater courage in maintaining a position that brought unrelenting criticism from the academic establishment.

III

Robert Hutchins could hardly have chosen a less congenial setting from which to sally forth on his mission of reform. The University of Chicago exemplified the American research university in the 1920's and 1930's. Nowhere else in the mainstream of higher education did empiricism find so severe an application. Not just in the traditional physical and biological sciences but more particularly in the social sciences, where Charles Merriam introduced quantitative methods to political science and Robert Park and Ernest Burgess had revolutionized the study of sociology. Even the Divinity School headed by Shailer Matthews championed an empirical theology. That the professors should now

shelve their instruments and begin interlocution on first principles did not please the University dons. Chicago's philosophy department was especially nettled. With its interest in the social basis of thought, the "Chicago School," anchored in the writings of John Dewey, George Mead, and James H. Tufts, rejected both neo-Aristotelianism and its arch-proponent Mortimer Adler. Hutchins's fight with the department over appointments initiated him into the rough and tumble of administration.[17] Chicago faculty early became wary of their new president, and his pronouncement of 1936 only confirmed their suspicions of revolutionary intent. "Academic fights are so bitter," that wicked aphorism goes, "because so little is at stake." Not so here. Though cabals, intrigues, and petty spites abounded in the University's charged atmosphere through a decade and a half, a fight for the soul of higher education transcended such foibles.

The Higher Learning in America broke upon the public in the fall of 1936 as few educational works have. The fireworks on Chicago's South Side the preceding several years had built up national interest in Hutchins's culminating statement. It sold 8500 copies in three years—remarkable numbers for its kind—and reached a vaster audience through serialization in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Reviews and features on Hutchins and his school proliferated in the latter 1930's, spreading his educational tenets to much of the literate public. College newspaper editors reportedly had a "field day" with the book, pro and con; the editor of the *Daily Princetonian* wrote Hutchins that his volume was the "text" for their editorial policies.[18] On his own campus, as might be expected, debate took on a greater immediacy. Professors could not after all simply dismiss the avowed intentions of their president to reconstruct his/their university.

Focus of faculty dissent fell on Harry Gideonse, a young Dutch-born economist. Outspoken and a prominent campus figure, Gideonse delivered a series of rebuttal lectures published in 1937 as *The Higher Learning in a Democracy*. His critique, the most thorough Hutchins's book received, contains the substance of most all subsequent arguments. Gideonse, like all of Hutchins's critics, accepted his criticisms of higher education. Uncertainty about goals and rampant vocationalism indeed plagued the academy. But Hutchins's remedies are not only deficient or misled, they are positively dangerous. Why? Because of his appeal to an undefined metaphysics as the basis for a new unity. Who shall define these metaphysical principles, Gideonse asked, and will they be mandatory? Moreover, as an apostle of science Gideonse took offense at the priority given the wisdom of the ancients. Knowledge is dynamic and progressive, today's answers more certain than yesterday's. The confusion that Hutchins

lamented was to Gideonse a normal element of learning. Hutchins's program would not simply stifle science, but would curtail democracy itself. "To crystallize truths into Truth and to substitute metaphysics for science is to arrest a process of intellectual growth that is the basis of the democratic process."[19]

What Gideonse intimated others shouted: *The Higher Learning in America* extolled "authoritarianism." The term's Fascist implications were not missed by those of the decade. John Dewey in a famous exchange with Hutchins carried on in *The Social Frontier* judged that Hutchins's search for ultimate principles resembled the "distrust of freedom . . . that is now overrunning the world."[20] Others took up the theme. Reviewing a companion volume of Hutchins essays published in 1936, *No Friendly Voice*, Chicago philosophy professor Thomas V. Smith noted Hutchins's consummate style, "so singular as to be arresting," the "stuff of which great leaders are made," and no one, thought Smith, surpasses Hutchins in this quality—"unless perchance it be Mussolini."[21] Even Hutchins's mentor in law school, Charles E. Clark, to whom *The Higher Learning in America* was dedicated, warned of an authoritarian deadening of inquiry should a forced unity of principle be imposed.[22]

That Robert Hutchins, noted already in the 1930's as a voice of liberalism, should stand accused of authoritarian tendencies is no small paradox. Hutchins always believed that his reformed education would strengthen democracy through an inculcation of the principles upon which it is based. But his formalism ran against the grain of American thought. Leading thinkers no longer based democracy on transcendent, immutable principles. The relativism implicit in the scientific method came to dominate social thought, and for a time in the 1920's intellectuals even questioned whether people possessed the rationality deemed essential for a democracy. It was left to John Dewey in the 1930's to reconcile relativism with democracy, a synthesis that commanded respect by the era's modernists and a renewed commitment to American values in the face of a Fascist threat. But Dewey's accomplishment also meant defining absolutist philosophy as intrinsically undemocratic. Hutchins thus found himself not only engaged in occasionally acrimonious exchanges with the grand old man of American philosophy but also on the losing side of the debate about the nature of truth itself.[23]

Other reviewers of *The Higher Learning in America* avoided such severe indictments even while distancing themselves from Hutchins's proposals. University of Wisconsin President Glenn Frank and New York University President Harry Woodburn Chase both scored Hutchins for seeking to revive a discredited nineteenth-century mental discipline philosophy of education. The rigors of logical training, they asserted, are no substitute for a curriculum based

on contemporary problems and approaches. Writing in *The American Scholar* Chase questioned whether a single curriculum, especially one so intellectually demanding, could profit all undergraduates. And if, Chase continued, higher learning is confused, that confusion has "vitality and a certain lusty vigor of youth."[24] Hutchins's search for unity also distressed Christian Gauss, who characterized the proposed curriculum as "one-sided, pedantic, uninteresting and fantastic in its paradoxical simplicity." Gauss, understandably, feared that an unrelenting intellectualism would exclude proper consideration of the humanities.[25] Reviewer Marvin McCord Lowes was similarly put off by Hutchins's "glorification of the intellect" and conversely by his disregard for moral training.[26] Hutchins's counterpart at Harvard, James B. Conant, did not review the book but gave his impression in a personal letter. "I admire the way in which you wield your pen," he wrote, "but in this case I cannot refrain from expressing my hearty disapproval of almost all that you say." Conant admonished Hutchins to "throw your idea of a 'pervasive' philosophy into Lake Michigan."[27]

Hutchins did find a small core of supporters, however. Philosophical comrades Mortimer Adler and Richard McKeon rushed to his aid, offering counsel on rebuttal to Gideonse. Adler's frustration at what he deemed the perverse ignorance of Chicago faculty caused him to urge Hutchins to consider the presidency of City College of New York.[28] Hutchins also heard encouragement from Walter Lippmann. "I have read nothing on universities which has interested me so much, or cleared up so many confusions," Lippman wrote. "I am not flattering you when I say that it is as profound as it is obviously brilliant.[29] Lippmann's endorsement takes on special poignancy when one recalls that his own comprehensive statement of political philosophy of two decades later, *The Public Philosophy* (1955), would likewise appeal to a "natural law" and would similarly meet with a cool critical reception.

Predictably, the firmest support for *The Higher Learning in America* came from America's Catholic scholars. Hutchins's neo-scholasticism fitted nicely with the resurgence of Thomistic thought in the Catholic world (a leading proponent, Jacques Maritain, would in fact accept an appointment at the University of Chicago). The editor of *The Modern Schoolman,* a journal dedicated to scholasticism's revival, told Hutchins that "we feel a certain fellowship with men like yourself and Professor Adler."[30] But even Protestant journals commended Hutchins's message. *Christian Century* appreciated Hutchins's recognition of a disintegrating cultural order and "the idolatry of science." But echoing Catholic reviewers, it urged him to drop a jejune metaphysics in favor of an overtly theological, God-centered education.[31] These friends liked what they heard—but wanted more.

IV

For his part, Hutchins never defined to anyone's satisfaction what he meant by "metaphysics," though he spent a great deal of time speaking to this one issue all reviewers raised. He generally repeated that an age of unbelief required a philosophical unity rather than a theological one. But in at least one letter he hinted "that any metaphysics that is worth the name will lead to natural theology."[32] The man who wished to erase confusion from higher education left a large measure of it at the heart of his doctrine.

If Robert Hutchins could no more banish confusion from his own thought than he could from universities generally, why pay him further attention? Neither then nor in later years did he exert a formative influence on American higher education. Though interest in general education picked up at the end of World War II, it would be Harvard's famous "Redbook" that provided the keynote. And in the most recent efflorescence of liberal arts emphasis, Hutchins and the Chicago years generally earn no more than an occasional footnote as a commendable early experiment. Have we, then, anything to learn from this book of a half-century past? Most certainly. The lessons come in part from what he had to say of value and how he said it, but just as importantly they reside in the resistence his ideas met.

Hutchins's failure (and he carried an acute sense of failure to the end of his life) to restructure higher education says as much about America as it does him. The classical curriculum he championed, to give an example, contains a profound and irreducible conservatism regarding the human condition. But most Americans see education as a tool for shaping the future—a future that will be different, better than the past. Our characteristic optimism makes us impatient with those who would restrict us to a narrow and retrospective course of study. Hutchins's tendency to absolutist positions also pitted him against the American grain. The John Calhouns, with their architectonically perfect systems, have been viewed as mischievous in their rigidity. In education as well as in politics our nation has gloried in compromise. The American university, as Laurence Veysey explained so brilliantly, emerged from a series of compromises. The "tendency to blend and reconcile" competing educational goals created institutions that sought several ends simultaneously. Hutchins's plan to bring order and singleness of purpose to a multifarious system could only find rejection. Harvard's 1945 report on *General Education in a Free Society,* by contrast, built on existing courses, a pragmatic arrangement that made it the influential model for other colleges.[33]

The intense intellectualism of Hutchins's imagined university foundered on yet another national quality: a utilitarianism that pervades even the academy. Richard Hofstadter long ago defined the prevalent strain of anti-intellectualism in America. In education this has meant, as Frederick Rudolph observes, that certification of skills are valued above the acquisition of widsom. The 1947 report of the President's Commission on Higher Education—the era's other major statement on the importance of education in a democracy—bespeaks a triumphant utilitarianism couched in the spread-eagle confidence that was America's at the end of the Second World War. Universities can accomplish all ends for all people. That students should bother with "'eternal' truths revealed in earlier ages" is inadvisable since it would be "likely to stifle creative imagination and intellectual daring.[34] Rather, in the finest Deweyite fashion, students should confront contemporary problems, whether it be community health or family relations.

The shrewdest comments on Hutchins's incompatibility with the American way came from Sidney Hook, himself nearer the center of American thought. In *Education for Modern Man,* one of our wisest books on higher education, Hook arraigns an exclusively classical curriculum for its blindness to present concerns and its implicit message that there are no genuine solutions to social problems. More crucially, Hook indicts Hutchins for failing the pragmatic test of means and ends: "True educational wisdom must be more than a counsel of perfection; its suggested reforms should use what is good in an inadequate situation to make the whole better. Otherwise it provides no leverage for action and runs into denunciation or fantasy."[35]

Hook is the fox to Hutchins's hedgehog. The former possesses a detached, analytical power congenial to the American experimentalist tradition. The latter knows one thing for sure—and will not retreat. Where Hutchins's writings are expansive and hyperbolic, their sarcasm and seriousness often difficult to disentangle, Hook's are controlled and driven by a careful, compelling logic. One reads Hook on education and returns to Hutchins with a more critical eye. "Hutchins's aphorisms are like bombshells," astutely observed University of Rochester President Alan Valentine, "they startle, but their light may fade before the echoes of their sound.[36]

Yet even conceding all of this, *The Higher Learning in America* commends itself to us, in part because of the very qualities that have restrained its influence. Hutchins's call for a metaphysics of knowledge above all else violates the modern temper. One might agree that no such ground for unity exists in a pluralistic age. But to do so is to admit the intellectual poverty of a liberal culture increasingly reduced to mere science and a vague commitment to the Western

tradition. Modern curricular reforms, such as Harvard's 1979 report, generally stress skills or modes of inquiry instead of an interpretive philosophy. The irony here is great: Hutchins, one of the eminent modern spokesmen of liberalism, also declaims liberalism's decline as a unifying principle in education. The tragedy of modern education is not just that we are no closer to an answer than we were fifty years ago but that most have stopped asking. *The Higher Learning in America* can be read as a useful reminder of our predicament if not as a prescription for its solution.

The book reaffirms the centrality of teaching in the ecology of universities. University administrators and public relations officers dutifully repeat the importance of undergraduate teaching. But by now everybody knows better. The rewards go elsewhere. Hutchins's concern was overwhelmingly with the university as a teaching institution; his passion was the education of the citizen. In this he shared Jacques Barzun's disdain for the "cult of the teacher." Subject matter should carry itself without need for an inspirational instructor. He dismissed the "nauseating" apothegm about the ideal education being Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other. Yet Hutchins's own career in the classroom indicated otherwise. The Great Books lived more because of his demanding and incisive questioning than because of their immediate appeal to eighteen-year olds. He developed a following—cultic is hardly too strong a word—that endures among Chicago alumni forty years later.

Leon Botstein tells us that *The Higher Learning in America* ought also to be taken seriously today for its insistence on the link between democracy and education.[37] This has of course long been a part of the national creed, at no time more pronounced than during the struggle with totalitarianism in the 1930's and 1940's. But at some point in the past two decades this message lost its urgency. Apart from applauding our equalitarian access to a college education, three recent reports on higher education display a striking apathy to its importance for democracy.[38] Do we fail to speak of this link now because we take it for granted or because we no longer believe in it? Either way, Hutchins confronts us with the crucial nature of this relationship. His is a simple faith: democracy demands an educated, inquiring citizenship. Maybe our society now finds as little relevancy in that proposition as it does in the possibility of theological (or metaphysical) certainty. If we could recapture a lively sense of that relationship educators would be handed their rationale for a liberal arts curriculum.

Robert Hutchins also reminds us of the sine qua non of a university: its vitality. One can dismiss every tenet of the Hutchins creed and still have to admit that his university was perhaps the most exciting place of learning our country has known. Its energy was a product of his (and his colleagues) infectious

enthusiasm for those twin elements of learning, dialogue and reflection. Hutchins always summed up his career as the attempt to construct an "intellectual community," a place where student and faculty discoursed on questions fundamental to all disciplines. The antipathy of our specialized academia to this notion is profound, and we are tempted to dismiss the very term as banal. But what is the intent of a liberal education if not to create a national community of thinking people? A society given over to careerism and technology demands the imparting of skills from its colleges. Hutchins, however, calls us back to a primitive gospel. Where we pay lip service to the ideals of liberal education, he will accept no token offerings. Seeking to fulfill a prophetic calling, Hutchins admitted to being "depressed and infuriated" much of the time over a society that could not ignore but did not heed his advice.[39]

We still do not. And partially in consequence, our higher education still fails to educate adequately. "Preach," Jefferson implored "a crusade against ignorance."[40] Robert Hutchins carried out that commission with a dedication matched by few others. But though our society continues to honor its various messengers of educational reform, it can bring itself only haltingly—weighed down with doubts and other priorities—to consider seriously their message.

NOTES

1. James Grant Blair, "Youth at the Top," *World's Work* 59 (February 1930), p. 52.

2. Ibid.; Robert Maynard Hutchins, "The Yale Law School in 1928," typescript in Hutchins Papers, box 3, file 22. University of Chicago Special Collections (hereafter cited as UCSC).

3. John Henry Schlegel, "American Legal Realism and Empirical Social Science: From the Yale Experience," *Buffalo Law Review* 28 (Summer 1979), pp. 467-490.

4. Charles Gilkey, Memoranda of conversations on trip East during University of Chicago Presidential search, April 22, 1929, in Harold Swift Papers, box 37, file 4, UCSC.

5. See Chauncey Samuel Boucher, *The Chicago College Plan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), and Faculty of the College of the University of Chicago, *The Idea and Practice of General Education: An Account of the College of the University of Chicago by Present and Former Members of the Faculty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

6. Robert Lasch, "Two Intrepid Colleges," *The Reporter* (June 21, 1949), pp. 32-33.

7. Interview with James Douglas, May 20, 1985.

8. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Administrator," *Journal of Higher Education* 17 (November, 1946), pp. 395-407; Milton S. Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago," *Harper's Magazine*, two parts (March & April 1939), pt. 1, pp. 344-355.

9. See Thomas C. Reeves, *Freedom and the Foundation: The Fund for the Republic in the Era of McCarthyism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Frank Kelly, *Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic* (New York: The Free Press, 1981).

10. Quoted in Reeves, *Freedom and the Foundation*, p. 11.

11. Found in Robert M. Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 41-50.

12. Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 1.

13. Ibid., p. 43.

14. Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 44, 147.

15. Amy Apfel Kass gives the most thorough discussion of this movement in her "Radical Conservatives for Liberal Education," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1973).

16. John Henry Cardinal Newman, *The Idea of the University* (Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, 1973 [1852]), pp. 70, 109-110. Quoted by Hutchins at Columbia Teachers College address April 25, 1940, typescript, Hutchins Papers, box 23, file 5.

17. Mortimer Adler describes this episode in his autobiography, *Philosopher-at-Large: An Intellectual Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), chap. 7.

18. Frank W. Rounds to Hutchins, September 17, 1937, Hutchins Papers, box 49, file 3, UCSC.

19. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1937), p. 25.

20. John Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *The Social Frontier* 3 (January 1937), p. 104.

21. T. V. Smith, "The Chicago School," *International Journal of Ethics* 46 (April 1937), pp. 378-379.

22. Charles E. Clark, "The Higher Learning in a Democracy," Ibid., 47 (April 1937), pp. 317-335.

23. See Edward A. Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974); Hutchins's debate with Dewey was carried on in several issues of *The Social Frontier* 3 (December 1936), pp. 71-73; 3 (January 1937), pp. 103-104; 3 (February 1937), pp. 137-139; 3 (March 1937), pp. 167-169.

24. Harry Woodburn Chase, "Hutchins's 'Higher Learning' Grounded" *American Scholar* 6 (Spring 1937), pp. 236-244; Glenn Frank, "Towards an Ordered Learning," *Yale Review* 26 (Winter 1937) pp. 242-244.

25. Christian Gauss, "The Plight of the Higher Learning," *North American Review* 243 (March 1937), pp. 171-172.

26. Marvin McCord Lowes, *American Review* 8 (November 1936), 115-120.

27. James B. Conant to Hutchins, August 15, 1936, Hutchins Papers, box 49, file 3, UCSC.

28. Mortimer Adler to Hutchins, undated [circa. 1936], Hutchins Papers, box 4, file 2, UCSC.

29. Walter Lippmann to Hutchins, June 14, 1937, Hutchins Papers, box 49, file 4, UCSC.

30. George P. Klubertanz to Hutchins, March 3, 1937, Hutchins Papers, box 49, file 4, UCSC.

31. "President Hutchins' Mistake," *Christian Century* 54 (April 14, 1937), pp. 480-482; "A God-Centered Education," Ibid. 54 (April 28, 1937), p. 544.

32. Hutchins to Robert V. Merrill, Nov. 11, 1936, Hutchins Papers, box 49, file 5, UCSC.

33. Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945); Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), pp. 257-262.

34. "President's Commission" in Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, *American Higher Education; A Documentary History* 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 972-973.

35. Sidney Hook, *Education for Modern Man* (New York: Humanities Press, 1973), p. 80.

36. Alan Valentine, "No Middle Flight," *Yale Review* 25 (June 1936), p. 813.

37. Leon Botstein, "The Higher Learning," *Center Magazine* 11 (March 1978), pp. 41-42.

38. William J. Bennett, *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education* (National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984); *Integrity in the College Curriculum* (Association of American Colleges, 1985); *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (National Institute of Education, 1984). Only Ernest L. Boyer's more recent study, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America* (Carnegie Foundation, 1987) gives a nod toward the traditionally observed link between education and citizenship.

39. "Slightly Autobiographical: Robert M. Hutchins—A Profile," tape interview with Robert Hutchins, number 139, Center for the Study of Democrat Institutions.

40. Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, Aug. 13, 1786, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (The Library of America, 1984), p. 859.

The Graduate Education of a Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond and the University of Chicago

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I

THIS ESSAY LOOKS AT THE INTERACTION between the career of one black scholar, Horace Mann Bond, and the institution at which he received both of his graduate degrees, the University of Chicago. It inquires into the circumstances surrounding Bond's graduate studies at Chicago, his choice of a field of study, the faculty members who were most influential in his intellectual life, and, finally, the connections which he established with philanthropic agencies while at Chicago. It concludes that the University of Chicago did not do for the career of this black scholar what one expects a graduate school to do for its advanced students who successfully complete their doctorates. Rather than serve as a patron or an advocate of its minority graduates, Chicago left Bond, and its other black students, to fend for themselves in the segregated occupational world of higher education.

The essay first shows that most of Horace Bond's intellectual interests and capacities were developed before entering graduate school. What Chicago did accomplish was the elaboration and enrichment of Bond's already present interests in intelligence testing, the social background, problems, and prospects of the black race, and the history and current state of black educational development. Chicago's major tangible contribution to Bond's career, the philanthropic contacts which he made during and after his time on the Midway, was also an addition—to a contact already started by his father—rather than a new experience. These philanthropic contacts were responsible, in large part, for Bond's swift, successful rise to the position of college president. From the point of view of an academic career, however, the road to administration was a wrong fork for Bond. He desired a scholarly career, was trained for one at Chicago, but failed to pursue it, instead choosing the income and other perquisites that went with administrative positions.

The concluding section of the paper will describe Bond's own ambivalence in evaluating his relations with the University of Chicago. It also will show that Bond's case is an individual instance of a larger phenomenon of the truncated career of the black scholar. Chicago's unwillingness (or inability) to promote an academic career for one of its better students was not an isolated instance or unique to this institution. It was rather an instance of a general

acquiescence by American graduate education in a situation which insured that minority scholars, no matter how good their training, would not have the outlets and the institutional sustenace to pursue their scholarly careers as successfully as did white scholars.

II

Horace Bond was not quite twenty years old when he enrolled as a graduate student at the University of Chicago for the Spring Quarter, 1924. His father had groomed young Horace for higher intellectual attainment since his childhood. Bond's decision to study at Chicago was influenced, in part, by the residence of his oldest brother, Gilbert, in the city. Horace Bond stayed at the University for two quarters and then left to take up a full time faculty position at a black college in Oklahoma. In 1926, he returned for a year of study at Chicago, receiving his M.A. degree in education at the end of the Fall Quarter and staying for two more quarters to begin work on his doctorate. He then took various faculty positions at black colleges in three southern states. After getting his doctorate from Chicago in 1936, Bond soon ascended to the presidency of a black public college in Georgia and, then, the presidency of his alma mater, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He ended his career as an administrator and faculty member at Atlanta University. Bond maintained his contacts with faculty and students from his Chicago days through most of his career.

Horace Bond was undecided, initially, on the particular field that he wished to study at Chicago. He eventually received both his graduate degrees from the Department of Education, but this was not his first choice for a major field. His interest in biology dated back to his childhood regard for one of his aunts, who had a medical degree from Meharry College of Medicine, and was intensified by studies in biology at his undergraduate school, Lincoln University. He did not enroll in this field, however, because it was too expensive. Despite a strong inclination to study in history, he was turned down by that department because of a lack of undergraduate prerequisites. Lincoln's curriculum was largely prescribed, much like that of the nineteenth century old time colleges, and included only two history courses. The fields in which he chose to concentrate, education and sociology, were less costly than biology and less particular about their students' backgrounds than was history.[1]

Having taken work in education at the Pennsylvania State College in the Summer of 1923 and having served as a part-time faculty member in education at Lincoln for one quarter, Bond decided to major in the Department of Education

at Chicago. Though the larger university and the Department of Sociology were particularly hospitable to black students, the Department of Education was not. For example, blacks in education were not allowed to student teach at the University's laboratory school, but had to arrange to work in black schools in the city.[2]

Black students, including Bond, often encountered attitudes on the part of education faculty members that indicated displeasure with their presence. On one occasion, for example, Bond wrote a letter of protest to a Professor of Education, Frederick Breed, who had lampooned blacks and used the phrases "darky" and "nigger" in a story he told at a convocation talk. Bond described the story as "quite distasteful to me" and told Breed that he had recently heard the same story told by the Alabama State Superintendent of Education. This southern white educator, unlike the Chicago professor, did not use offensive words while telling the story and apologized for telling it at the same time that he told it. Bond added that the story and the language Breed used were inconsistent with "academic dignity" and "ordinary considerations of decent respect for the feelings of other people." He concluded that "not even Amos and Andy are so crude."[3]

The dominant influence in the field of education at Chicago was the department chairman, Charles H. Judd. The education program at Chicago had initially achieved renown through its association with individuals like Francis Parker and John Dewey at the turn of the twentieth century. Dewey served at Chicago for approximately ten years and was chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Education when he left for Columbia University in 1904. Five years later, Judd would come to Chicago and begin to dismantle Dewey's edifice. Trained as a psychologist in Germany where he received his doctorate under Wilhelm Wundt, Judd proceeded to establish education as a "scientific" study at Chicago. This meant the detachment of education from its departmental housing with philosophy and psychology and a deemphasis on teacher training and the laboratory school, both of which had been integral to Dewey's approach to the field. Also, in contrast to Dewey's penchant for linking subjects and methodology, Judd denied the importance of subject matter in teacher training. He believed that the scientifically trained teacher needed to learn the psychology of teaching the various fields of study, not the subjects themselves.[4]

In place of Dewey's School of Education at Chicago, a primary function of which was to train teachers, Judd started a graduate Department of Education in the Faculty of Social Sciences. As a graduate department, it established the legitimacy of the science of education and offered advanced training to educa-

tional leaders. During his thirty years as chair, Judd ruled his department, students and faculty, with an iron hand. All theses and dissertations had to meet with his personal approval and "under Judd, any faculty member who did not meet the expectations of the chairman was terminated or denied promotion."[5]

Judd stressed an environmentalist concern for learning in education as opposed to the more determinist emphasis on natural ability which characterized the work of many other notable educational psychologists of the day. This orientation should have been attractive to Bond and other black graduate students, who were then smarting under hereditarian contentions that black scores on the World War I army Alpha test "proved" the genetic inferiority of the black race. Yet, there is evidence that Judd had no general fondness for black graduate students, a fact which would undoubtedly have been recognized by the young Horace Bond. For example, in order "to discourage nonwhites from matriculating," Judd "tried to deny them financial aid, even where they appeared qualified."[6]

Bond left no detailed account of the three courses or other experiences he had with Judd, but he did acknowledge Judd in the preface to the published version of his dissertation. While completing his dissertation, and after, he wrote frequently to Judd, inquiring about the possibilities for jobs or research grants. In unguarded moments, however, he revealed a not altogether flattering opinion of Judd. In a letter to a long time friend, written before Bond had finished his degree, he recounted that he had finally had his dissertation topic approved "by the demon Judd." In another letter from the same period, he described Judd as a stimulating teacher "with whom I disagreed most violently in all the seminar meetings I attended—silently, I must add. . . ."[7]

Bond majored in his master's program and minored in his doctoral studies in Judd's field, educational psychology. Bond's favorite professor in this area, however, was Frank N. Freeman, who specialized in intelligence testing. Freeman received his doctoral degree in Psychology at Yale in 1908 and came immediately to Chicago where he would teach in the Department of Education for the next three decades. Bond had two courses with Freeman in his master's program, including "Mental Tests" in his first quarter of graduate study in 1924, and two more courses at the doctoral level.[8]

Freeman's environmentalist views on intelligence test scores were compatible with the explanations offered by black intellectuals for the low scores of black soldiers on World War I tests. Freeman's criticism of genetic explanations of score differences was a persistent theme in his work. In a 1937 study which he co-authored with a biologist and a statistician, Freeman and his colleagues concluded that while they could reach no general solution to the problems

raised in the nature-nurture (heredity-environment) debate, they believed that "what heredity can do environment can do also." Freeman studied the environmental emphasis on intelligence in his own work and directed several dissertations in this area. In one such thesis, the student concluded that environment modifies intelligence and the Intelligence Quotient which measures it and that, while IQs are valid measures of intelligence, environment must be considered if the IQs are to be used for purpose of prediction over long periods of time.[9]

Bond frequently acknowledged the importance of Freeman's teaching as well as his personal kindness and consideration. However, Freeman essentially allowed Bond to build on an interest which he already had when he came to Chicago rather than kindled that interest in the young scholar. "Scientific" arguments about the genetic inferiority of blacks had been heard in America at least since the turn of the century. The army Alpha intelligence score deficit was simply the latest version of this scientific racism. Black scholars and intellectuals had become practiced at refuting these allegations of genetic inferiority, though largely in forums that were known only to black audiences. Their access to mainstream scientific and popular journals was severely restricted. Bond's interest in the topic had been piqued by a sociology instructor at Lincoln. He became personally and intellectually aroused while at the Pennsylvania State College in the summer of 1923 when he overhead a white student argue that IQ tests convincingly proved the inferiority of blacks as a race.[10]

While back at Lincoln later that year, but before he would enroll at Chicago, Bond wrote two articles on the topic of black intelligence scores. In the first, published in W. E. B. DuBois's *The Crisis*, he tried to show the errors in fact and interpretation that whites used to employ test scores in a racial war against blacks. In the second, published one month later in *Opportunity,* the journal of the National Urban League, Bond reviewed Army Alpha scores and noted that though Negroes performed lower than whites on average, some interesting results emerged when comparing scores geographically. Northern whites performed consistently better than southern whites, while Negroes from certain northern states performed better on Army Alpha than whites from several southern states. Thus, Bond's interests and work predisposed him to be impressed by Frank Freeman's ideas and orientation.[11]

Freeman encouraged both Bond's interest in tests and test scores and his attacks on the racist explanation of psychologists for those scores. Bond later noted that only at Chicago under Freeman and at Columbia under William C. Bagley were students encouraged to combat such racist determinism. Howard Hale Long, a black who also published work critical of racial explanations of test scores, studied with Bagley.[12] Bond retained his interest in intelligence testing

and its use or abuse in explaining racial achievements throughout his long career.

Bond never hid his contempt for the ideas of a third Chicago educational psychologist, Guy Buswell. Though he had no courses with Buswell in his master's program, shortly after completing his master's degree Bond was called in by Buswell to discuss his score on an intelligence test, a required screening device for doctoral study. While the psychologist did not tell Bond his score, the professor did tell the young black that he had done quite well on the test. Buswell asked Bond to explain his high scores, since Negroes did not usually do well on the test. Bond answered that his score reflected the prodigious amount of reading that he had done ever since he was a child. Buswell, evidently dissatisfied with that explanation, remarked that "it probably is your white blood" and dismissed Bond with congratulations on his performance. This encounter soured Bond on Buswell and undoubtedly had something to do with his contrasting "the agony of a lecture by Dr. Buswell" with the stimulating lectures he encountered in other courses.[13]

In later years, when Bond remarked that "I must acknowledge a bias against educational psychologists, at least those of my generation," he undoubtedly was thinking of his experiences with Buswell, and probably those with Judd. Frank Freeman, however, was the one psychologist from whom Bond learned a great deal and for whom he expressed great respect.[14]

III

From the beginning of his graduate studies, Horace Bond took work in the Sociology Department. However, his interest in sociology flourished first at Lincoln, where he developed a strong desire to understand the plight, and improve the conditions, of his race. He enrolled for ten sociology courses as a graduate student, five each at the master's and doctoral levels. Robert E. Park taught three of them. According to Bond, Park was one of two "great teachers" he encountered at Chicago, the other being Edward Sapir, an anthropologist who also taught in the Sociology Department. Park held a doctorate from Germany and worked for seven years in various capacities with Booker T. Washington, the noted black spokesman and president of Tuskegee Institute. He was greatly interested in the culture of black Americans, both in its African and American origins. The Sociology Department at Chicago, and Park's classes, became a haven for black students. Charles Johnson, who would become head of Social Sciences and, later, the president of Fisk University, studied with Park.

Also, E. Franklin Frazier, perhaps the most noted black sociologist of this century, received his doctorate at Chicago. Under Park's influence, the department developed race relations as one of its specialty areas.[15]

Largely because of Park and the department's orientation, it seemed for a time that Bond might switch to sociology for doctoral study. He wrote to Park in the late 1920s, discussing blacks as "marginal men" as a possible dissertation topic. This concept of marginality was fairly new in the sociological literature and it was largely associated with and developed by Robert Park and Chicago. Bond's sociological studies reinforced his views on the injustice of genetic interpretations of intelligence testing. He published a scathing review of a treatise on the genetic basis of IQ in a 1927 issue of the Chicago sponsored *American Journal of Sociology*. The review arose from an assignment given to Bond in a sociology course with Elsworth Faris.[16]

Although Bond was always lavish in praising Park in public, his private views revealed a more complex interaction between the two men. In an autobiographical excerpt, Bond recounted an occasion when Park had chastised him for his "intense dislike for practically all white people." Park correctly read Bond's attitude toward those whites whom he did not know but dealt with the situation in a characteristically gruff manner that the young black student would never forget. Park's cantankerousness in dealing with students was well known thoughout the department. Professors in sociology often had to convince graduate students to continue working with him, even after he had offended them with remarks such as calling a student a "damn fool." In a private letter to a close friend in 1935, Bond was clearly negative about Park. He wrote that "that old sob" Park had become convinced, erroneously, that Bond was having personal problems. In his usually insensitive style, Park ignored Bond's protestations that there were no problems and thrust his nose into his student's private affairs.[17]

It was in Bond's professional interest, however, to maintain cordial interactions with Park and Bond kept up a steady correspondence with him throughout the 1930s. By that time the Chicago sociologist had retired from the University and gone to teach at Fisk in Nashville, where Charles Johnson was head of the social sciences and where Bond would serve several stints on the faculty. While at Dillard University in New Orleans in the mid-1930s, Bond reinforced the tie by inviting Park to study conditions among rural blacks in Louisiana.[18]

IV

As already mentioned, Bond flirted with the idea of switching to sociology for his doctoral dissertation before deciding to stay with education as his field of record. Transit between the two was not difficult since they were both departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Chicago. The smallness of the Chicago sociology faculty and student body also meant that enrollment in sociology courses by students from other social science areas was encouraged.[19] Bond's decision to remain in education thus may not have been as significant as modern academics, accustomed to the walls erected by ever more specialized departments and the tension between education and other subjects, would see it to be. Bond's ability to work in both sociology and education in his early academic jobs testifies further to the relative permeability of the boundaries. The numerous opportunities for blacks in the education field, provided by the existence of segregated black schools in the South and the preponderance of teacher training for these schools in most black colleges, may well have been the deciding factor in Bond's choice of an education doctorate.

Ironically Bond chose a dissertation topic in the history of education, rather than in educational psychology or sociology. When he arrived at Chicago, as we have already noted, Bond had an interest in history that he was not allowed to follow because of deficiencies in his undergraduate coursework. What the Chicago History Department's rule about prerequisites ignored, however, was the wide ranging reading that the young man had been doing since his childhood, much of which was in historical works.[20]

In contrast, the Department of Education allowed Bond to explore the history of education without worrying about his presumed background shortcomings. His mentor in this area was Newton Edwards, with whom he took four courses, three at the master's level and one at the doctoral level. It was Edwards who would direct Bond's dissertation. The young black scholar obviously learned his lessons well: Bond's doctoral thesis on Alabama Negro education received a prize as the best dissertation in the department, was published soon after completion, and reprinted in a paperback edition in the 1960s. Bond's study was well reviewed upon its publication and it continues to be cited as a significant work in educational history and in the historiography of Reconstruction and the post-Reconstruction period.[21]

Edwards was raised in South Carolina. He received an A.B. degree from Trinity College (now Duke University) and a Ph.D. degree in history at North Carolina. In addition to Bond, he had other black students and a reputation for working closely with all of his students. Bond often testified to the importance of

Edwards's influence. In the Preface to the published edition of his dissertation, Bond acknowledged the "painstaking counsel" of Newton Edwards, "who has given much time to the manuscript while it was being prepared." Over a decade later, in a talk given to a group of educational historians, Bond recalled that it was "through that great teacher Newton Edwards whose student I take pride in being, that I came long ago to regard the history of education as the veritable Queen of all disciplines." Bond described how he had learned from Edwards that the history of education, properly conceived, was a part of the history of a social order. To understand educational institutions and their development, one must look at "all of the social institutions, . . . the Family; the Church; political and economic institutions, and the economy on which they rest; all these become the necessary content and object of the student of the history of education."[22]

Edwards's published ideas on the history of education reflect this focus. In a textbook he co-authored with Herman Richey, a Chicago graduate and faculty colleague, the changing array of social forces determines the essential tenets of the school, and educational history thus becomes a part of social history. Edwards's text divided American history into several different periods which were animated by differing social orders.

> In each social order studied, attention is directed first to the essential features of the social order itself, to the dominant ideology, to the social structure, to the clash of economic interests, to the sources of political power and the form of political institutions, to the workings of the prevailing economic, political, and social arrangements.

This heavily socio-economic orientation was not uncommon in the histories of the 1930s and after. History, as well as other disciplines, experimented with a variety of radical approaches in an attempt to analyze the crises caused by the Great Depression. Yet, in historical study, this orientation predated the depression. The history of Edwards and Bond was descended from the work of the progressive historians of the early twentieth century, Frederick Jackson Turner, Vernon Louis Parrington, and Charles A. Beard, who all stressed the importance of economic factors in understanding the reality of American history. This orientation was attractive to black scholars who wished to explore the history of their current troubles and indicate the ways in which those troubles were not simply inevitable, but rather part of an historical process which might be subject to change.[23]

V

In addition to developing his predefined academic interests, the University of Chicago profoundly affected Bond's career by aiding his incorporation into the network of black academics being developed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board. The Rosenwald Fund, headquartered in Chicago, had enjoyed a longstanding relationship with the University through its founder, Julius Rosenwald, who lived but a short distance from the campus. Several Chicago faculty members, including Charles Judd, served on its Board of Trustees. John D. Rockefeller provided initial funding to both the GEB and the University of Chicago, and both retained close ties to the Rockefeller family and its interests.[24]

Horace Bond's connections to the Rosenwald and the Rockefeller interests did not begin at the university, however. His father, James, had had a long-standing relationship with Edwin Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. It originated in the elder Bond's graduation from, and membership on the Board of Trustees of Berea (Kentucky) College, an institution that had been founded by Embree's abolitionist grandfather. Embree, who had worked for the Rockefeller philanthropies before going with the Rosenwald Fund, had been raised by his grandfather and he inherited that gentleman's deep respect for James Bond. Building on his father's base, Horace Bond was able to win significant financial support from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He held fellowships for graduate study from the Fund and worked on Rosenwald research projects on three different occasions in the 1930s.[25]

Bond's frequent shifts from the Fisk University faculty, where he worked with another close associate of Embree's, Charles Johnson, to research positions with the Julius Rosenwald Fund are thus explained by the common sponsorship of Edwin Embree. Bond was still on the Rosenwald Fund's payroll in 1933, when he accepted a position as the founding dean of Dillard University. The chairman of Dillard's board of trustees, Edgar B. Stern, was the son-in-law of Julius Rosenwald and a Trustee of the Rosenwald Fund. Dillard's first president, the white southerner Will W. Alexander, was also a Rosenwald Fund trustee. The intimate ties between the Fund and the University of Chicago helped facilitate Bond's going to work for the Fund and, then, taking the Dillard deanship. The Fund would later be involved in Bond's appointment to the presidency of the Fort Valley (Georgia) State College.

Although Bond hesitated before accepting each of these administrative positions, Edwin Embree provided the necessary encouragement. Thus, Bond's abandonment of a scholarly career for college administration was aided and

abetted by the University of Chicago related philanthropy which sponsored him. That he regretted these decisions as they were being made, and much later as he reflected on his various career moves, indicates both a lack of enthusiasm for administration and an acceptance of the occupational realities of academic life for blacks. He first tasted these realities at the University of Chicago.[26]

VI

Horace Mann Bond often expressed his ambivalence toward the institution that had started him on his academic career. While seeking to publish his dissertation, Bond had to wonder about the university which, while granting it a prize for excellence, had a press which refused to publish it. While a college president, Bond had other occasions on which to question his graduate school's commitment to his own development. In the mid-1940s, after five successful years as president of Fort Valley State College, Bond was chosen president of his alma mater, Lincoln University. A member of the organization of presidents of Negro land grant institutions, a group which Bond had served as president, wrote to the chairman of the Education Department at Chicago, seeking an honorary doctorate or some other type of acknowledgment of Horace Bond's contributions to the field of Negro education. A "blind copy" of that letter was sent to Bond. Nothing was done in response to the letter and Horace Bond may well have concluded that his graduate "alma mater" thought his work undistinguished and/or unimportant.[27]

Still later, after leaving, or rather being dismissed from, the presidency of Lincoln University in 1957, Bond turned to the University of Chicago for help in finding a teaching/research position. Again, Chicago proved unresponsive. Of course, one should not make too much of either the honorary degree episode or the job placement issue. What they exemplify, however, is Chicago's failure to follow up on its responsibilities to its minority students. Chicago's record in educating black doctorates in the 1920s through the 1940s was exemplary, one that could be compared quite favorably in relation to other excellent graduate centers such as Harvard or Columbia. Yet Chicago left its minority graduates to fend for themselves in the segregated world of higher education. Even when it hired one of its own graduates as its first black faculty member in the early 1940s, Allison Davis, it treated him in ways that left him constantly aware of his marginal status as a faculty member.[28]

To summarize, Horace Bond's intellectual career at Chicago reveals a case of the institution reinforcing orientations and ideas that the young black

brought with him, rather than exposing him to new currents of thought. His historical, educational, and sociological interests all were in place before enrolling at Chicago. So was his interest in intelligence testing, the area of his earliest professional achievement. Bond did learn both historical research methods and the significance of social forces in understanding educational change in Newton Edward's courses and seminars. And, of course, this is the scholarly area with which Bond's best published work is most closely associated. it could also be argued, however, that Chicago might have done better by its young student if it had allowed him to study historical methods in the History Department.

For a final evaluation of Chicago's influence, we must take Bond's career as a whole. His years in academic life did not yield a record of sustained scholarly productivity. Rather, he made his mark as administrator in black colleges. And Chicago must share in whatever credit or blame there is to be apportioned in that regard. Horace Bond made connections with the philanthropic world at the University of Chicago that built on his father's earlier interactions with Edwin Embree. It is doubtful if Bond could have been as successful with the foundations as he was without the prestige of earned graduate degrees awarded by Chicago.

Bond entered academic administration with a nudge, if not a considered push, from the philanthropic foundations. He was not particularly interested in administrative work and thought, at times, that he was not suited for it. The realities of segregation in academic life, however, made administration the one area open to upwardly mobile black academics. Given Bond's dismissal from Lincoln, his success in administration should be judged as mixed at best. This outcome could have been anticipated, given Bond's own reservations about administration. Yet, had he not gone into administration, he would have faced a career as a faculty member at a black college with a relatively poor salary, exceedingly high teaching loads, and poor research support.

This is exactly the fate that befell two of the most famous academics of Horace Bond's generation, Ernest Everett Just, and E. Franklin Frazier. Each of these scholars had doctorates from the University of Chicago, Just in Biology and Frazier in Sociology, and each attempted to sustain a scholarly career with mixed success. Serving on the faculty at Howard University, the most prestigious of black institutions, neither realized the promise that his training and ability indicated was present. Rather, each scholar chafed under conditions of poor research support, lack of doctoral students, and the patronizing ways of Howard president, Mordecai Johnson.[29]

Horace Bond had a chance to travel the Howard path, and turned it down. In 1936, Frazier, after leaving Fisk to go to Howard and build the

Sociology Department, offered Bond a job. Bond was at the time intent on leaving his deanship at Dillard University and weighed the Howard offer against a return to Fisk or a position at Lincoln University. His failure to take the Howard faculty position may well have been related to the poor salaries available to faculty at black institutions or his awareness that the scholarly path would be blocked, even at Howard. Whatever the reason, Bond returned to Fisk to become chairman of its Education Department. Two years later he would become president at Fort Valley.[50]

Thus, the research and intellectual career for which Chicago prepared Bond was not be be. In its place was a checkered journey as a college dean and president. It is probably too extreme to say that Chicago shares the blame for the intellectual truncation in this black scholar's life. Yet, insofar as it failed to address the inequalities in employment opportunity that faced the minority scholars it turned out and the lack of sponsorship and outlets for the scholarly orientations its minority students evidenced, Chicago stands identified as a participant in the intellectual diminution of this one black scholar and an entire generation of his peers.

NOTES

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3. Horace M. Bond to Frederick Breed, July 22, 1932, Bond Papers, II, 8, 2A.

4. White, "The . . . Chicago Study of Education."

5. White, "The . . . Chicago Study of Education," p. 152.

6. White, "The . . . Chicago Study of Education," p. 168.

7. Horace M. Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (New York: Atheneum, 1963; reprint of 1939 Associated Publishers edition), p. xi; Bond to Charles H. Judd, December 22, 1936, Charles Judd Papers, University of Chicago, Special Collections, Box 2, Folder 5; Bond to Roy [Davenport] August 22, 1936, Bond Papers, II, 8, 2A; and Bond to Edwin R. Embree, November 28, 1932, Bond Papers, III, 71, 312D.

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pp. 27-30. Course Work taken at the University of Chicago by Horace Mann Bond in Preparation for the Degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy, Bond Papers, III, 82, 371B and University of Chicago, Transcript for Horace Mann Bond, Bond Papers, III, 86, 389B.

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11. Horace M. Bond, "Intelligence Tests and Propaganda," *The Crisis*, 28 (June 1924), pp. 61-64, and Horace M. Bond, "What the Army 'Intelligence' Tests Measured," *Opportunity*, 2 (July 1924), pp. 197-202. Wayne J. Urban, "The Black Scholar and Intelligence Testing: The Case of Horace Mann Bond," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, forthcoming.

12. Bond, "Intelligence Tests and Propaganda," p. 64 and Horace M. Bond, "My Aunt Mamie and My IQ," Bond Papers, VI 178, 55. Howard Hale Long, "Race and Mental Tests," *Opportunity*, 1 (March 1923), pp. 22-25.

13. Bond, "My Aunt Mamie and My IQ" and Horace M. Bond, "Notes written on myself by myself: What an asinine thing to do," Bond Papers, VI, 178, 55.

14. Horace M. Bond, "A Neglected Research Source: The College Psychological Examinations of the 1930s (An Essay on the Method of Historiographic Psychometry)," Harvard University Summer School Convocation (1966), Bond Papers, VI 172, 15.

15. University of Chicago, Bond Transcript and Bond, "Notes written on myself...." On Chicago's department and the influence of Robert Park, see Robert L. Faris, *Chicago Sociology: 1920-1932* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1967), esp. pp. 27-30 and 107-08.

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17. Bond, "Notes written on myself..." and Bond to Allison Davis, July 21, 1935, Bond Papers II, 8, 4B.

18. Park to Bond, November 21, 1934, Bond Papers, II, 8, 3C.

19. Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 110.

20. Bond to Moore, June 2, 1960.

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22. Information on Edwards came from a letter to the author from Ralph Tyler, November 10, 1984. Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, p. xi and Bond, "The Role of the History of Education in Understanding the Struggle for Equalizing Educational Opportunity," Paper presented to the National Society of College Teachers of Education, (February 28, 1950), Bond Papers, VI, 171, 6.

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29. Kenneth R. Manning, *Black Apollo of Science: The Life of Ernest Everett Just* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); James E. Blackwell and Morris Janowitz, eds., *Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), chapter 4; and Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," *Daedalus* (Summer 1971), pp. 678-719, esp. pp. 702-03.

30. E. Franklin Frazier to Horace Mann Bond, April 23, 1936, Bond Papers, II, 8, 5B.

University of Rochester women's basketball team of 1906-1907. Courtesy of Karl Kabelac, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

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Preserving the Pedestal: Restrictions on Social Life at Southern Colleges for Women, 1920-1940

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SOUTHERN COLLEGES FOR WOMEN HAD A DISTINCTIVE culture in the early years of the twentieth century. Student government, social regulations, extracurricular activities, and even college architecture reflected the desire of educators and parents to preserve the purity, beauty, and grace of Southern womanhood. Despite the changes in American society resulting from United States involvement in World War I and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, despite the challenge to traditional views of the sexes resulting from the popularization of Darwinian and Freudian theories early in the new century, and despite the liberalization of restrictions occurring at Northeastern and Midwestern schools in the 1920s, social life at Southern women's colleges continued to be shaped by antebellum stereotypes of woman's nature and sphere. Just as the eighteenth-century founding fathers had relied upon properly educated "republican mothers" to inculcate national values and democratic behaviors, so the twentieth-century Southern patriarchs looked to the women's colleges to produce alumnae who would preserve Southern distinctiveness (and the status quo). Although some students resented their conscription in this elitist war against sexual equality and social change, most heeded the call of Southern patriotism and subsumed their interests as women to those of their race, class, and region.

Single-sex institutions were more popular in the South than in the rest of the nation. For most American youth in the 1920s and 1930s, coeducation was the norm. A survey of the U.S. college graduate, published by Time, Inc. in 1941 found that since World War I "the ratio of those who attended co-educational colleges, as compared with those who went to an institution restricted to their own sex, is about three-to-one."[1] But this pattern did not hold true for white college women in the South. Even the state universities of the region educated men and women undergraduates separately, often on campuses hundreds of miles apart. The case of Virginia is illustrative. In 1930-1931 the University of Virginia enrolled 2,399 men and 123 women and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute 1,538 men and 79 women. The only publicly-supported school at which women were equally represented was William and Mary. The Virginia Military

Institute was all male while the teachers colleges at Madison, Fredericksburg, and Radford were all female. Even the private University of Richmond was divided into Richmond College for Men and Westhampton College for Women. Only four of eleven private liberal arts colleges in the state were coeducational. Of the 7,348 white women pursuing undergraduate degrees in 1930, 5,472 or 74.5 percent attended women's colleges. This percentage remained constant throughout the twenties and thirties and was similar in other Southern states. The proportion of Southern women in single-sex institutions compared to those in coeducational colleges was almost the inverse of the national ratio.[2]

Other demographic differences made the Southern woman's educational experience distinct. In her study of white, middle-class college youth in the 1920s, Paula Fass remarked upon "the increased size and heterogenity of school populations" which made it difficult for college administrators to maintain the degree of control over students they had in the pre-war period. Fass believed that "the democratization of family relations" associated with the small, middle-class families of the nation's cities began to affect higher education in the 1920s. Students resented the paternalistic rules and regulations of the colleges of the era and demanded from educational institutions the same sort of independence and trust they received from their families. The liberalization of college restrictions which Fass documented was, however, associated with certain demographic factors which were less pronounced in the South. Fass found that the most "plastic" youth—those who "knew that they lived in a changing world that demanded new understanding, new conventions, and constant readjustments"—came from small, urban families and attended large, coeducational universities.[3] Until the 1940s, however, Southern families remained large, the Southern economy overwhelmingly rural, and Southern educational institutions predominantly single-sex. Southern colleges were far less heterogenous than Northern schools. For one thing, there were no racially integrated colleges in the former confederate states in the years before World War II. The white population was largely Anglo-Saxon and Protestant.[4] These regional variations make it imperative to consider Southern institutions separately.

The Southern view of women was also different. In her study of the Southern woman from 1830 to 1930 Anne Firor Scott found that even the suffrage campaign which "more than any other aspect of the feminist movement became the symbol of women's emancipation . . . had certain strongly marked regional characteristics" associated with antebellum views of woman's nature and sphere.[5] Belief in biologically-determined attributes or roles was, of course, not confined to the antebellum South, but regional variations in "celebrations of women" were clearly apparently by the early nineteenth century.[6] Scott found a

"more rigid definition of the role of women" in the antebellum South than in the North; in fact, the image of the "beautiful, gentle, efficient, morally superior" lady who was graciously willing to "accept without question the doctrine of male supremacy" was elevated in the South "to the position of a myth."[7] Likewise, Catherine Clinton concluded that Northerners and Southerners defined a good woman quite differently: "in the North, virtue was synonymous with industriousness. . . . In the South . . . chastity."[8]

Both Scott and Clinton saw the antebellum image of the lady limiting Southern women's freedom into the twentieth century. Although Scott believed that the association of the image with the rural life of the plantation meant that it was doomed as "people began to move to town," she conceded that "the image lived on as habit or useful protective coloration" even among the urban women who led the fight for progressive reforms in the 1920s. Clinton explained the longevity of the pedestal ideology by its connections with white racial supremacy.[9] The myth of the benevolent patriarch who lovingly protected and cared for his black and white family seemed to justify the sexual and racial segregation of the Old and New South. Indeed, Patricia Stringer and Irene Thompson's 1982 study of academic women in the South concluded that traditional conceptions of the lady restricted opportunities for college women into the mid-1960s.[10]

Women's education was also affected by the fundamentalist religious orientation of the region. Scott found that the "image of the submissive woman was reinforced by evangelical theology" which took literally the advice of St. Paul that "women submit unto their husbands." While Fass noted that religion was becoming less important among college youth nationally in the 1920s, historian George Tindall described the interwar South as "a bastion of evangelical Protestantism. It outranked other regions in its proportion of church membership, in denominational colleges, in the general position and influence of the church."[11]

The effect of these regional differences on women's higher education in the interwar years can be seen by focusing on the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Through an analysis of institutional histories, college catalogues, manuscript sources, and alumnae questionnaires from women's colleges in these four states, it is possible to document the extent to which practices in the South were affected by educational trends in the Northeast and Midwest and the degree to which women in the South were limited by the antebellum image of the lady.[12]

Purity was one of the most cherished qualities of the antebellum woman. The strict regulation of heterosexual contacts by Southern women's colleges reflected this concern for virtuous behavior. Rules prescribing social interactions of every variety were common to all the early colleges. At nineteenth-century

Vassar, for instance, "rules regarding etiquette and dress were as important as those establishing religious practices."[13] But the post-war rejection of Victorian values forced Northern and Midwestern institutions to liberalize and often eliminate restrictions on social life. Barbara Solomon's history of American women's colleges described the decade before World War I as a time of student challenges to restrictions on heterosexual activities. Fass noted that women's protests led to the abolition of chaperone requirements at the University of Wisconsin in 1923, the lifting of the non-smoking ban at Bryn Mawr in 1925, and the ignoring of curfew regulations at coeducational institutions throughout the country in the 1920s.[14] Elaine Kendall found that the advent of the automobile and, ironically, prohibition "effectively finished off the last vestiges of Victorian social customs at the seven sister colleges." The car gave students unprecedented mobility and increased opportunities for unchaperoned sexual contact. Prohibition brought the speakeasies, where young people could smoke, drink, and dance freely—"Instead of amusing themselves at well-lighted and adequately chaperoned college proms. . . ." Rules limiting automobile excursions were dropped because college authorities found no way they "could be enforced," and students simply ignored remaining restrictions on coeducational socialization.[15]

Similar changes in social life occurred much later at Southern women's colleges. For example, chaperonage, which had all but disappeared from Northern women's colleges in the 1920s and 1930s, was very much in evidence at Southern schools.[16] At Coker College in South Carolina, gentlemen callers were allowed "only on certain Saturday nights," and dating involved a ritual which must have discouraged all but the most ardent couples. "Properly dressed in formal attire, the student [had first to] introduce her date to the Dean of Women. If the Dean approved of the young man, then the couple would be escorted to a . . . parlor where . . . they would visit for two hours while monitors paced the hall, observing them from glass panes placed in doors for this purpose."[17] Nearby Converse College required faculty chaperonage "for automobiling at night, dinner at hotels, public entertainments in the evening, ball games, etc." Mary Baldwin College in Virginia forbade students "to attend dances in Staunton or the vicinity during the scholastic session, except . . . with [their] parents," while Wesleyan College in Georgia would not allow boarding students "to attend theatres, circuses, or other questionable places of amusement in the city."[18] Asheville Normal, Chicora College for Women, Columbia College, Georgia State College for Women, and Hollins College all required written permission from parents for students to date; Coker, Converse, Cox, and Queens Colleges, and the North Carolina College for Women required approval from college administrators as well. Such rules provided little opportunity for unsupervised contact with the opposite sex.[19]

Regulations against smoking, drinking, cardplaying, and dancing with men also remained in force longer at Southern women's colleges. Helen Horowitz found that smoking as "the outward sign of acknowledged female sensuality" was "the most highly charged issue" on Northeastern college campuses in the 1920s: 'Its lure for the female collegian was that it announced her sexual maturity and her interest in men even when she remained in the weekday company of women."[20] Given the Southern definition of womanly virtue and the fundamentalist religious origin of many women's colleges in the South, smoking was taboo at almost every Southern institution in the 1920s. In 1930, at Winthrop College in South Carolina, seniors caught smoking were suspended for the term.[21] At Sweet Briar College in Virginia students often left the campus to indulge, leading a faculty member to lament that "the most animated conversations among our students" were occurring elsewhere. Bowing to reality, Sweet Briar allowed smoking in 1929 as did neighboring Randolph-Macon the following year.[22] Even when rules against smoking were eliminated, new regulations often limited the time and place where smoking was allowed. When Converse College in South Carolina lifted the ban on cigarettes in 1933, it specified four discreet locations where students could smoke.[23] The college had its image to consider.

Southern college administrators also frowned upon dancing in the early years of the twentieth century. Sweet Briar College, which admitted its first students in 1906, shocked the sensibilities of collegiate neighbors by allowing dancing among the students and by inviting gentlemen to dances on weekends. But even such indulgences as Sweet Briar permitted had their limitations. When the students petitioned the faculty in 1914 for the right "to dance the one step and the hesitation waltz at the May Day ball," the faculty agreed only on the condition that "the Floor Committee would see to it that dancing was not objectionable."[24] Randolph-Macon Woman's College permitted the students to dance among themselves in 1925 but maintained the rule against heterosexual dancing until 1932. Converse College did not hold its first formal dance until 1933.[25] Church colleges were often the last to allow dancing on campus. Mildred McEwen, Queens College's historian, recalled her surprise when, while reading student newspapers from her Presbyterian alma mater in the 1920s, she came across a reference to "a 'tea dance' given by students. My reaction was, 'This *can't be!*' Then I discovered the date on that paper was April 1. In another paper," she recalled, "I came across a notice that there would be a 'movement' in the gym Saturday night (for girls only, of course) and *that* was the Queens I remembers during those days. The word *dance* was not even used."[26] A similar ban existed at Methodist Wesleyan College. As an alumna of the class of 1938

explained, "proms" mean "promenades"—"even at formal proms with an orchestra, male students from Mercer, and special boyfriends from home, we did *not* dance at Wesleyan."[27]

The attitude of Southern parents and administrators toward social dancing was quite different from the national view. Paula Fass noted that youth in the 1920s generally "danced whenever the opportunity presented itself" and considered dancing "the least disreputable" of heterosexual social activities. Yet dancing remained suspect at Southern schools into the 1930s. The predominance of single-sex institutions in the South partially explains the difference. Barbara Solomon found that women's colleges were the last to join "the dance vogue," although she concluded that "by 1913 college men and women everywhere danced together regularly."[28] The antipathy to dancing at Southern schools in the 1920s and 1930s was more likely a consequence of the region's religious peculiarities. Fundamental Protestant churches were among the most vocal and steadfast opponents of ballroom dancing, and these very churches, of course, dominated the Southern scene.

Both academic and religious considerations inspired prohibitions against cardplaying. At Converse College the faculty turned down student requests to repeal the law against playing cards as late as 1932, arguing that students who spent hours at cards would lose valuable study time and might be tempted to bet or gamble.[29] Randolph-Macon removed its prohibitions against bridge playing in 1928, but other schools like Winthrop, Georgia State College for Women, and Chicora, which had large contingents of Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian students, kept their regulations into the 1930s.[30]

No Southern college for women allowed alcoholic drinks on campus in the interwar years. Administrators at Wesleyan, Salem, and Queens Colleges considered drinking and smoking "shipping offenses."[31] In the large coeducational universities of the North, however, women's drinking "became an issue" in the mid-1920s.[32] Prohibition meant that consumption of alcohol was illegal for most of the period, but in the Northeast speakeasies assured a bountiful supply of liquor for college parties nonetheless. There is little evidence, however, that Southern college women had the same access to illegal drink as their Northern sisters. A Coker College editorial on the school's "drinking problem" chastized students who ordered cokes to be delivered to the dorm for failing to meet the delivery boy.[33] The reminiscence of one Hollins student seems typical: "*Nobody* drank. It was never an issue, and would never have been permitted."[34]

The Southern college woman also dressed quite differently from the "typical eastern college girl" described by the editors of *Fortune* in June 1936. The Northern woman may have presented "a casual, even an untidy appearance

while on the campus," but the Southern woman was expected to maintain a proper, lady-like demeanor.[35] Rules and regulations moderated student dress and deportment at all Southern schools. The Coker College Catalogue of 1932-1933 warned that "extravagance and freakishness in dress [was] not approved by students or officials of the college; [rather] neatness and simplicity [were] the rule."[36] Although state-supported schools such as Asheville Normal, Winthrop, Georgia State College for Women, and Georgia State Teachers College mandated uniforms for their students "to promote economy, simplicity, and good taste in dress" and church schools such as Cox College and Columbia College required a coat-suit for public occasions, most colleges had statements similar to that of Hollins: "No uniform is prescribed for ordinary or public occasions. Students are expected to observe simplicity, good taste and neatness in everyday life."[37] Girls, one alumna of Wesleyan noted, "seemed to automatically wear what [they] were supposed to wear." Her classmate concurred: "A dress code was not necessary—everyone dressed properly at all times."[38]

The Southern lady was expected to act as well as dress respectably. Rules governing deportment also emphasized "good taste and judgment." Coker College authorities told prospective students that "Emphasis [was] . . . placed on culture and refinement of taste, courtesy in conversation, gentleness and propriety of manners, and appreciation of simple elegance characteristic of our best homes." Hollins College's regulations required every student to "be decorous and upright in her conduct . . . " while Agnes Scott "sought to cultivate true womanliness, a womanliness which combine[d] strength with gentleness and refinement."[39] Historians who characterized the 1920s as "the watershed in the history of American morals" and personified the contemporary woman as the flapper who drank, smoked, danced with men, petted, and wore revealing clothing and make-up had clearly not drawn their conclusions from observations of the Southern college scene.[40]

Religious practices, too, remained far more traditional at Southern women's colleges. At Mt. Holyoake "chapel talks tended to deal with current social problems," priests and rabbis appeared as guest speakers, and "the college YWCA chapter was quietly replaced by a Fellowship of Faiths." Vassar abolished compulsory chapel attendance in 1926, and Barnard "abandoned the idea that a 'Christian spirit' was essential to the well-rounded woman."[41] Such innovations were not to be found at Southern colleges for women where attendance at chapel services and Sunday church continued to be required. Denominational colleges usually advocated religious courses and Bible study as well. Mary Baldwin College, a Presbyterian school in Virginia, required nine credit hours of Bible for graduation and encouraged students and faculty to "meet together

each morning of the school week except Saturday, for a half-hour chapel program in which correlation [was] made between religion and all the activities of the college."[42] Methodist Columbia College requested that "Each young lady . . . be furnished with a Bible, a Hymn Book, and a Webster's Academic Dictionary" while Queens, Cox, and Flora Macdonald Colleges all used the Bible as a textbook.[43] Queens College closed the campus to all visitors on Sundays, putting a chain with the sign "Sabbath Day. No Admittance" across the entrance; that is, until "one Sunday some irreverent Davidson boys . . . painted out the Sab."[44]

Although the national trend was away from sectarian education, almost all private women's colleges in the South were affiliated with religious bodies. Of the schools in South Carolina, for instance, only Converse College claimed to be non-denominational; Coker and Limestone were owned and controlled by the Baptists and Columbia by the Methodists. Non-denominational women's colleges often had religious connections. Agnes Scott in Georgia, for example, was described as "legally non-Sectarian, but sympathetically related to [the] Presbyterian Church." Even non-sectarian, state schools boasted that their "principles and influences" were distinctly "Christian." As the Georgia State Woman's College Catalog explained, "the state institutions of a religious people are naturally religious institutions. While the College is non-sectarian, a sincerely spiritual atmosphere is cultivated in all the relations of the institution." Georgia State's YWCA sponsored a Sunday School which was taught by members of the faculty and attended by most of the student body. Winthrop, the South Carolina College for Women, sponsored similar activities.[45]

Prescriptions for church attendance, discreet dress, and considerate manners and prohibitions against smoking, drinking, and dancing were all designed "to promote the highest type of Christian womanhood and to develop the spirit of Christian service." Students at Randolph-Macon Woman's College were told that they would all "be treated as daughters of equal maturity in a well-regulated Christian family."[46] Domestic imagery was repeatedly employed to assure parents that daughters would find a home-away-from-home at college. Wesleyan College described its president as "head of the College household"; Queens College received its students "as members of one large family." Chicora College for Women had "only such rules as [were] needed for the orderly government of a large family . . . ," and Columbia College tried "to make the life at the College as much like that of a well-regulated Christian family circle as possible."[47]

Domestic analogies were carried over into the architectural design of buildings. A 1940 booklet on *Life at Converse* for prospective students described the school as "Our Converse College Home" and listed the ways in

which the college authorities had tried "to make the College as much like home as possible." There were lovely "parlors provided for the reception of . . . dates, and for informal gatherings in the evenings." The Dean had an apartment and office in Main Hall where she was "accessible" to all and the college doctor had "no other practice" and devoted "her entire time" to the students. Salem College put out a similar brochure which told of its "Room Company System . . . the nearest approach to home life that has ever been devised, and [which was] largely responsible for the Salem type of happy, healthy, adaptable young women."[48]

To administrators of Southern women's colleges in the 1920s and 1930s, a wholesome social environment was even more important than a stimulating intellectual atmosphere. Columbia College explained the aim of such social emphases in its statement of purposes: "no education can be true or complete which does not provide culture of heart, sentiment, and emotions, as well as mind. . . . [We try] to make every possible provision for the development of the well-rounded, full-orbed life. . . ."[49] The Limestone College Catalogue of 1932 made explicit what was elsewhere implicit. "Limestone College strives to preserve as a precious elixir of life all that was finest in the civilization of the Old South—its exalted ideals of manhood and womanhood, its liberal culture at its best, its peerless standards of unsullied honor, the delicate charm of its manners, and the ineffable beauty of its social life."[50]

Rules and regulations, domestic imagery and architecture assured fathers, fearful of the social effects on their daughters of a liberal arts' education which had once been exclusively their sons', that girls would "use what they [had] learned in the particular sphere to which God had appointed them: that of the home." As Anne Scott commented, college administrators were willing to make "a commitment to the best education so long as there was no threat to the southern ideal of womanhood."[51]

College traditions and rituals reinforced antebellum conceptions of womanhood. Founder's Day, school song fests, senior investiture, May Day, Class Days, Senior Recognition Day all emphasized the importance of past values and expectations. While Fass remarked upon the "loss of class spirit" and the disappearance of "academic class rituals" from the colleges of the 1920s, intra-campus activities remained an integral component of Southern social life throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[52] Students dressed in white gathered around a Maypole strewn with flowers for a seemingly incongruous celebration of the fertility of nature and the virginity of students. They sang of the "goodness" and "purity" of their institutions (One verse of the Alma Mater of Columbia College, for instance, ended with the line, "No stain shall touch the purity of our

Columbia College"). Seniors marched in academic robes to the chapel, where in a ceremony reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott, they knelt and were "knighted" with their caps.[53] The small size of most women's colleges in the South allowed such schools to perpetuate an intimate campus life which was increasingly difficult to maintain in the larger institutions of the Northeast and Midwest.

An integral feature of the extracurricular program at all women's colleges was student government.[54] In 1899 Randolph—Macon Woman's College and Limestone College became the first women's colleges in the South to set up systems of student government. Converse College was next in 1905.[55] Although it may seem ironic that self-government was instituted at these schools during a period when women had few political rights at all, most student government associations were designed for social rather than political purposes. As one Coker College Catalogue put it, "self-government freed the faculty from minor regulation enforcement duties . . . [like] checking under doors [at night] to determine whether students' lights were out after study hours."[56] Associations were concerned with "maintaining order," "promoting good conduct," cultivating "self-control," elevating "honor," instilling "self-discipline," and developing "self restraint, consideration for the majority, and the true cooperative spirit."[57] They stressed group rather than individual interests; social rather than academic matters. Student government was a way for college authorities "to make the life at the college as much like that of a well-regulated Christian family circle as possible." Thus, there were "regulations which encourage[d] orderliness, which protected[ed] the hours of work, which foster[ed] lady-like demeanour under all circumstances."[58]

Not all Southern women in the 1920s and 1930s meekly followed the prescribed path to ladyhood offered by their Alma Maters. Some students indulged in forbidden beverages despite national and campus prohibition. Sweet Briar's historian, Martha Lou Stohlman, related how a Sweet Briar student caused a Virginia gentleman to lose not only his illusions of female proprietary but also seven bottles of whiskey. The gentleman, it seems, was a passenger on a train travelling through central Virginia in the mid-1920s with an illegal cache of whiskey. When an inspector appeared, he quickly hid his bottles "under the mattress of the berth of a Sweet Briar girl who was chatting in another car," figuring that if she discovered the liquor "it would not be valued." His expectations proved quite wrong, however. "When the train stopped at Sweet Briar in the early morning seven bottles were lugged off in a bulging suitcase and," Stohlman notes, "were properly appreciated in a series of eggnog parties, judiciously distributed so that no conspicuous effects were noted."[59] A Salem student managed many "sneak smokes" in her dormitory room, while one

Wesleyan woman "argued with the dean of women about playing tennis with a date in the day time on campus." The freshman class at Hollins successfully petitioned the Dean of Students in 1934 for permission "to wear bobby sox (instead of stockings) to class."[60] As a result of student complaints, bans on smoking were lifted at a number of schools. At Wesleyan and Hollins upperclassmen were allowed to chaperone freshmen when they went into town.[61]

Generally speaking, though, incidents of student protest at Southern women's colleges were few and far between, and those that did occur were, on the surface at least, resolved in favor of college authorities. The settlement of the week-long disturbances which broke out at the State Teachers College of Fredericksburg (later Mary Washington College) in 1934 is indicative. When the head of the school's Student Government Association presented the student body with a new set of rules restricting automobile visits to town, her audience was outraged. A committee was elected to appeal to the president for a modification of the restrictions, and the next night they met with a Joint Council of Faculty and Student Government representatives to explain their demands. But instead of modifying the restrictions, the administration put five students on probation for "leading the agitation against college authority." When one of the five was subsequently "expelled for her part in the protest, the campus was thrown into an uproar." Details of the unrest were leaked to the press, and the *Washington Post* ran a front page story on the expelled woman. Groups of angry students gathered outside administration offices and in the dorm parlors. Although the college president initially dealt with the situation like a true Virginia patriarch by "sending the girls to their rooms," he eventually called a meeting of the student body "to explain how the new rules had come into being . . . ." Conceding that "ninety percent of the students did not need them," he insisted that such regulations were necessary for "orderly procedure" and "student self-government." And besides, the president concluded, restrictions "were intended to apply only to pick-up rides and not to other forms of riding." Apparently, his arguments were convincing, for "the feeling of resentment" disappeared, and "the situation returned to normal."[62]

The explanation of the outcome provided by the school's historian, Edward Alvey, is revealing: "In reaching this resolution of the week's events, the students, no doubt, had come to realize that they were not so unreasonable as they had first seemed, and that the publicity given the disturbances was unfavorable to the college. Many students had also been advised by parents not to participate in any uprising against those in authority at the college."[63] College officials were obviously more concerned with the image of their institution than with the literal enforcement of its restrictions. Even Alvey admits that the "new"

interpretation of the rules was more lenient than that given initially by the head of the student government. Parents were especially interested in the maintenance of *in loco parentis*. As long as their daughters conceded the major issue—obedience to authority—the minor subject of the parameters of that authority could be determined however the college wished. On the other hand, the students had gotten what they had desired—modifications of the restrictions. And they had learned the lesson their mothers had learned in their own campaigns for social reform: "maintaining the ladylike image was still considered to be good politics."[64]

The Fredericksburg incident also illustrates the willingness of Southern college authorities in the 1920s and 1930s to punish recalcitrant daughters. Students were "campused," put on probation, and expelled for violations of social regulations. One Wesleyan alumna believed she was not elected to Phi Beta Kappa her junior year because of her "attitude about dating rules." At Salem, social violators had a "little chat" with the president's wife. Students who found the restrictions intolerable often transferred to coeducational universities; those who remained grumbled to themselves or kept quiet.[65] When parents supported restrictions on social life, there was no one to whom college women could appeal. "My family was very strict and so was Wesleyan," noted one student. "I had to have most of my social life after graduation." Other women made a virtue of necessity: "We expected and did not mind (though being human we always complained) the various disciplines and restrictions—and, we are better people because of them."[66]

In some respects the continued advocacy of antebellum views of woman's sphere and nature at Southern colleges was only a reflection of the many obstacles to women's liberation which survived the promulgation of the Nineteenth Amendment and the upheaval of World War I. David Levine's analysis of the impact of higher education on American society and culture from 1915 to 1940 completely omitted the collegiate education of women. As Levine explained, "Women have been absent from this book for good reason: they were excluded from the occupational opportunities that stimulated the rise of American higher education after World War I." Although more and more Americans were seeking a college education, he concluded, "WASP upper-middle-class male prerogatives were still preserved."[67]

Estelle Freedman in an article on "The New Woman" argued that despite the tendency of historians to describe the 1920s as a period of "revolution in manners and morals," traditional views of woman's place (in the home) remained strong and impeded efforts at economic and social reform.[68] Similarly, Barbara Solomon conceded that everywhere in the 1930s "Serving society as

educated wives and mothers remained the educators' ideal" for women, and colleges were expected "to transmit the traditional values of genteel ladyhood. . . ." By advocating the development of the "whole woman" and "well-rounded personality," colleges could cultivate the social and moral behaviors which were associated with traditional feminine virtues.[69]

The resurgence of domestic ideology in the 1920s and 1930s was often directly connected to fears of depopulation. A statistical analysis of women in *Who's Who in America* carried out by the sociologist, Persis Cope, revealed that college alumnae, famous and unfamous alike, married at a later age and produced fewer children than non-college women of the same social status. "If this highly superior group fails to leave descendants, while the less desirable elements of the population continue to multiply rapidly," Cope warned, "race suide will be the inevitable result."[70] Writer Willis Ballinger specifically blamed the women's colleges for the population decline. He labeled such institutions "Spinster Factories" and accused them of "booming spinsterhood, encouraging marriage failures, [and] ordaining a bitter and senseless feud betwen the sexes."[71] Although less hysterical in its tone than Cope or Ballinger, Time Inc. agreed that "a college degree is very likely to lead women to spinsterhood" and that "the College Bloc is falling far short of reproducing itself numerically."[72] Accusations of race suicide had been leveled against college women in the 1890s; the population losses of World War I combined with the decreased family size of the post-war period served to revive such fears in the 1920s and 1930s.[73]

The renewed emphasis on marriage and motherhood in the 1930s was also a consequence of the Depression. Women in the marketplace competed with men for jobs, and the result was a nation-wide effort to keep married women at home. A survey of some 8,000 members of the American Association of University Women by the *Monthly Labor Review* found that in 1934 "married women had more unemployment and part-time work than single women."[74] State and national laws were passed limiting and many times forbidding the employment of married women. Women found it difficult to get jobs even in the traditional "pink-collar" occupations. Only one-third of the graduates of Barnard College in 1932 found employment, and college administrators advised students not to waste time looking for a job.[75]

The intellectual atmosphere of the 1920s and 1930s was not particularly conducive to the advancement of women. The post-war popularization of Freud may have removed the taboo against female sexuality and lessened the prescriptions against premarital intercourse, but it also reinforced traditional views of "womanliness." Freudian theory seemed to provide scientific proof of woman's inferiority and passivity.[76]

The literature of the interwar period also tended to be anti-feminist. In a study of "Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," Sandra Gilbert found that the works of D. H. Lawrence and Ernest Hemingway and even those of Radclyffe Hall and Gertrude Atherton seemed to condemn women for prospering from a war which caused so much suffering for men. Women were made to feel guilty for the economic, social, and political benefits they had reaped over the dead bodies of their brothers and husbands.[77]

Analyses of interwar demographics, psychology, economics, and literature may account for the reappearance of anti-feminist attitudes in the 1920s and 1930s, but they don't explain why restrictions on social life were so much greater at Southern than Northern schools and at single-sex than coeducational institutions. They also don't explain the apparent willingness of Southern college women to abide by such rules and regulations. These differences appear to be related to peculiar economic, social and political conditions in the South.

The agrarian lifestyle and white supremacy which had made the South a distinctive region were threatened by events of the 1920s.[78] The South was particularly hard hit by the post-war agricultural depression. Cotton prices fell from 40 cents per pound in 1920 to 10 cents per pound the following year. Black tenant farmers, no longer able to eke out a living from the patch of ground they rented from the white landowner, migrated in large numbers to the cities, depriving wealthy white Southerners of "a large work force of domestic servants and field hands."[79] World War I had exposed black Southerners to the world beyond the farm, and subsequent social and economic upheavals gave them hopes of a better future. Unfortunately, black rising expectations collided with the desire of poor whites to keep blacks in their place (one rung below themselves on the social ladder). Race relations worsened; Ku Klux Klan membership grew to one million by 1921, and race riots broke out in Charleston, S.C., Longview, Tx., Washington, D.C., Chicago, Il., Knoxville, Tn., Caldwell, Ga., and Omaha, Ne., in 1919.[80]

The post-war era also saw the rise of a "Negro intelligentsia," a second generation of educated, rebellious and defiant blacks. The "New Negro" no longer exhibited "attitudes of servility and dependence" in the presence of whites and rejected the "values of the dominant [Anglo-Saxon] culture."[81] In 1930 the NAACP began a campaign against the educational inequities in Southern schools, and in 1936, federal rulings forced the University of Maryland to admit a black student to its law school.[82]

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment was doubly threatening to a region which had long associated women's liberation with racial equality. Paternalism justified Southern prescriptions for women and blacks; if male supremacy fell, could white supremacy be far behind? This intersection of

racism and sexism is blatantly apparent in a 1912 letter from Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina, explaining why "chivalry" led him to oppose woman's suffrage:

> [It was] impossible to give white women the suffrage without extending the same privileges to Negro women. This "would be unspeakably dangerous" because black women were "wild and rabid," "far more pestiferous and hard to control than [Negro] men." It would be "more horrible and terrible" for white men to be compelled to shoot black women who tried to vote than it had been to shot men with like ambitions.[83]

That Tillman was not alone in opposing changes in women's political status is obvious from the fate of the Nineteenth Amendment in the South. Only three states of the former confederacy—Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas—ratified the measure.

Southern religious views based on a literal reading of scripture were challenged by the promulgation of Darwinian theories of evolution in the schools of the 1920s. Southern fundamentalists resented the national (primarily Northern) textbooks which undermined the faith of their fathers. In 1924 Tennessee responded with the Butler Act, making it a crime to teach evolution or any other non-biblical account of creation. The result was the famous Scopes Trial of 1925 which brought national attention (and scorn) to the religious beliefs of the region. But the premises of Darwinian evolutionary theory undermined more than just religion. By destroying "the changeless Newtonian universe, operating according to immutable laws, including immutable moral laws," Darwinianism questioned all traditional beliefs, not just those about creation.[84]

Southern beliefs were also particularly vulnerable to the "Red Scare" of the 1920s and 1930s. Socialism, with its emphasis on communal responsibilities and central control, was inimical to a South which espoused idividualism and States' Rights. The growth of "leftist" unions and farmer-labor political parties in the years after 1918 were upsetting to a people who believed that "well-being is ultimately a man's own lookout, and he ought to be able to work it out without the help of institutions like government, unions, and the like. . . ."[85]

The 1930s were hardly a time to rock the boat, either. The Depression only served to darken the already bleak economic picture in the South. State colleges were particularly hard hit by the economic recession. The University of South Carolina, for instance, was forced to pay its faculty in scrip in 1932. In July

1938 Roosevelt labeled the South the "Nation's Number One Economic Problem," and his pronouncement came after considerable New Deal aid had been funneled into the region. Although they welcomed federal monies, Southern politicians resented federal efforts to change traditional Southern social patterns: "For them the New Deal jeopardized a power that rested on the control of property, labor, credit and local government. Relief projects reduced dependency; labor standards raised wages; the farm program upset landlord-tenant relationships. . . ."[86] It seemed as if Southern civilization were under attack once more.

How could the Southern patriarch maintain his racial, sexual, and social supremacy in a world increasingly characterized by industrialization, modernization, and change? In his study of the Southern past, historian William Taylor argued that threats of social, economic, and political decline led Southern ideologists to grasp "for symbols of stability and order to stem their feelings of drift and uncertainty and to quiet their uneasiness about the inequities within Southern society."[87] And the foremost symbol of that Southern aristocrat tradition was, of course, the lady on the pedestal. The Southern belle—pious, virtuous, and docile—was the dutiful daughter and nurturing mother who learned the Southern way of life at school and imbued the home with its virtues and values.

Preserving the image of the lady was thus vital to preserving the hegemony of the white, upper-class male. And because the daughters of the elite were educated primarily in the women's colleges of the South, these institutions were pressured to retain the rules and regulations which reinforced traditional views of woman's nature and sphere.[88] Social restrictions assured nervous parents that the next generation would help preserve the stability and order they held so dear. Nell Battle Lewis, a North Carolina journalist, expressed these sentiments in a 1936 speech to the alumnae of St. Mary's School in Raleigh:

> And in standing for what it does,—for propriety, for decorum, for a certain ordered standard of behavior, for what we may call the old-fashioned virtues,—St. Mary's stands for something good, something which is of definite social value, and especially at the present time when the general trend of life is toward the left.[89]

As white, wealthy Southerners, college women were elevated by a myth which reinforced the dominance of their race and class. But, as women, they were simultaneously debased by an image associated with feminine inferiority

and dependency. Why didn't Southern students, like their Northern counterparts, strike out at a stereotype which denied their individuality and limited their options for self-development?

For many women, it seems, the benefits of an exclusive womanly culture far outweighed the costs to individual self-determination. When asked about their fondest memories of college life, alumnae from Southern colleges inevitably mentioned close friendships with fellow students and personal relationships with faculty and staff.[90] A Hollins' graduate of the class of 1938 explained: "... we were privileged to be "Hollins Girls' and no longer 'individuals.' There was a camaraderie and esprit de corps that made for conformity but did not stifle inventiveness. I enjoyed maturing in the refined, protective, cultured environment."[91] In *Womenfolks: Growing Up Down South,* Shirley Abbott described this feeling of sisterhood as a distinctive feature of Southern women's lives: "Next to motherhood, sisterhood is what they value most, taking an endless pleasure in the daily, commonplace society of one another that they never experience in male company."[92]

Bonds of sisterhood were far less important elsewhere. Intimate contact among women students and between women students and faculty was discouraged in the women's colleges of the North and the coeducational universities of the nation in the 1920s.[93] Influenced by Freudian psychological theories, administrators of Northern women's colleges tended to promote heterosexual activities and to view "female intimacy ... as 'abnormal'." At coeducational universities, the large size of the student body limited "contact with professors ... to formalized classroom instruction that lasted for no more than a semester" while the coeducational composition of these schools fostered mixed student functions.[94]

The predominance of single-sex institutions and the influence of a traditional, rural culture made campus life quite different for college women in the South. Southern women's colleges, with their restrictions on heterosexual contacts, encouragement of student government, promotion of college celebrations and organizations, and use of domestic analogies reinforced the bonds of sisterhood already existing in Southern society. Social life at Southern women's colleges was different because Southern life was different.

Pedestal ideology both enriched and impoverished the lives of Southern college women. On the one hand, the creation of a distinctive female culture provided a sense of sisterhood and security missing in neighboring coeducational institutions and Northeastern women's colleges. On the other hand, it preserved a climate in which decorum and obedience were more important than independent thought and action, femininity more valuable than scholar-

ship, and the past more salient than the future. It is not surprising that students at Southern colleges for women in the 1920s and 1930s found it difficult to demand liberation for their sex. By employing the analogy of the Christian home and by promoting traditional views of woman's nature and sphere, college authorities kept young women in a state of perpetual adolescence and reinforced the paternalism inherent to Southern society.

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was presented at an NEH Summer Seminar on the Woman Question in Western Thought held at Stanford University June 23-August 15, 1986. I wish to thank the seminar director, Dr. Karen Offen, and my colleagues in the seminar for their commentary and criticism.

1. Time Inc., *The U.S. College Graduate* (1941), p. 38.
2. John Littlepage Lancaster, Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia. May 1947. Typescript in the Virginia State Archives.
3. Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 47, 54, 375.
4. George B. Tindall, "The South and the Savage Ideal," *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1946* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), pp. 184-218.
5. Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 166, 180.
6. Catherine Clinton, "Equally Their Due: The Education of the Planter Daughter in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (April 1982): p. 59.
7. Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 223.
8. Clinton, "Equally Their Due," p. 59.
9. Scott, *The Southern Lady*, pp. 228, 226; Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), chapters 11 and 12.
10. Patricia A. Stringer and Irene Thompson, eds., *Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic Women in the South* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982), p. 2.
11. Scott, *The Southern Lady*, p. 7; Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 137; Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South*, p. 196.
12. In the spring of 1983 the author wrote to the alumnae offices of women's colleges in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia's requesting permission to administer a questionnaire to graduates celebrating their fiftieth, forty-fifth, fortieth, and thirty-fifth reunions. Five institutions—Hollins, Queens, Salem, Sweet Briar, and Wesleyan—agreed to participate in the survey. In May the questionnaire was mailed to 500 women chosen randomly from the classes

of 1923, 1928, 1933, and 1938. Two hundred and four usable responses were received. Although some respondents signed their names, most questionnaires are identifiable only by institution and years of attendance.

13. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), p. 39.

14. Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 101; Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, pp. 332, 294, 196.

15. Elaine Kendall, *"Peculiar Institutions": An Informal History of the Seven Sister Colleges* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), pp. 171-173.

16. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, p. 287; Martha Lou Lemmon Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College* (Sweet Briar, Va: Alumnae Association of Sweet Briar College, 1956), p. 140.

17. Robert Simpson, *Coker College: The Diamond Jubilee History* (1983). Pamphlet in the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, p. 18.

18. Lilian A. Kibler, *The History of Converse College* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Converse College, 1973), p. 229; Mary Baldwin College Catalogue, 1930-1931, p. 26; Wesleyan College Catalogue for 1919-1920, p. 85.

19. Asheville Normal and Associated Schools, Catalog 1925-1926, p. 15; Chicora College for Women, Catalogue, 1921-1922, p. 51; Columbia College, Catalogue, 1919-1920, p. 52; Bulletin Georgia State College for Women 25, No. 9, (May 1, 1940), p. 46; Frances J. Niederer, *Hollins College: An Illustrated History* (Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press, 1973), p. 60; Simpson, *Coker College*, p. 18; Kibler, *The History of Converse*, p. 229; Cox College Bulletin, 1922-1923, p. 31; North Carolina College for Women, The Catalogue 1920-1921, p. 160; Queens College Bulletin, Catalogue Number 1919, pp. 69-70.

20. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, p. 289.

21. Janette Anne Cox Mishoe, "Winthrop in Uniform 1895-1955" (M.A. thesis, Winthrop College, 1970), p. 18.

22. Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College*, p. 174; Roberta D. Cornelius, *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 241.

23. Kibler, *The History of Converse College*, p. 297.

24. Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College*, pp. 90-91, 118.

25. Cornelius, *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, p. 241; Kibler, *The History of Converse College*, p. 298.

26. Mildred Morse McEwen, *Queens College Yesterday and Today* (Charlotte, N.C.: Queens College Alumnae Association, 1980), p. 246.

27. Questionnaire response, Class of 1938, Wesleyan College.

28. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 300; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, p. 101.

29. Kibler, *The History of Converse College*, p. 227.

30. Cornelius, *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, p. 241; Winthrop College Catalogue, 1939-1940, p. 83; Georgia State College for Women Bulletin 14, No. 1 (January 1929): p. 176; Chicora College for Women Catalogue, 1922-1923, p. 52.

31. Questionnaire response, Class of 1928, Wesleyan College; Class of 1933, Salem College; Class of 1928, Queens College.

32. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 317.

33. Simpson, *Coker College*, p. 19.

34. Questionnaire response, Class of 1938, Hollins College.

35. Editors of *Fortune*, "Youth in College," in *American Points of View 1936*, ed. by William H. Cordell and Kathryn Coe Cordell (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1937), p. 299.

36. Coker College Catalogue, 1932-1933, p. 36.

37. Asheville Normal and Associated Schools, Catalog 1925-1926, p. 17; Winthrop College Catalogue, 1939-1940, p. 85; Georgia State College for Women Bulletin 14, No. 1 (January 1929): 176; Bulletin of Georgia State Teacher's College 17, No. 1 (March 1929): 16; Cox College Bulletin, 1922-1923, p. 32; Catalogue of Columbia College, 1919-1920, p. 47; Hollins College Catalogue, 1920-1921, p. 65.

38. Questionnaire response, Class of 1933, Wesleyan College.

39. Coker College Catalog, 1921-1922, pp. 31-32; Hollins College Catalogue, 1920-1921, p. 64; Agnes Scott College Bulletin, Catalogue 1940-1941, p. 17.

40. See Gilman M. Ostrander, "The Revolution in Morals," *The Twenties: The Critical Issues*, ed. by Joan Hoff Wilson (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), pp. 128-139; and George E. Mowry, *The Twenties: Fords, Flappers, and Fanatics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 173.

41. Kendall, *"Peculiar Institutions"*, pp. 175-179.

42. C. J. Hyslup, *Virginia Colleges: A Bulletin of Information for Prospective College Students* (1935 Pamphlet in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia), p. 21.

43. Catalogue of Columbia College, 1919-1920, p. 46; Queens College Bulletin, Catalogue No. 1919, p. 67; Cox College Bulletin, 1922-1923, p. 23; Bulletin of Flora Macdonald College, 1940-1941, p. 22.

44. McEwen, *Queens College Yesterday and Today*, p. 122.

45. See Clarence Stephen Marsh (ed.), *American Universities and Colleges* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940), for a breakdown on religious affiliations of American schools; Winthrop College Catalogue, 1920-1921, p. 106; Georgia State Woman's College, Announcements and Course Offerings, 1939-1940, p. 15.

46. Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Catalogue, 1920-1921, p. 19.

47. Wesleyan College Catalogue for 1919-1920, p. 14; Queens College Bulletin, Catalogue Number 1919, p. 11; Chicora College for Women Bulletin, Catalogue 1921-1922, p. 47; Columbia College Catalogue 1924-1925, pp. 24-25.

48. *Life at Converse.* Bulletin of Converse College 51, No. 3 (July 1940), pamphlet in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, n.p.; *Salem Academy and College*, brochure, c. 1914, in Mary Jeffreys Rogers Collection, North Carolina State Archives.

49. Catalogue of Columbia College, 1930-1931, p. 2.

50. Bulletin of Limestone College 2, No. 1 (February 1932), p. 112.

51. Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, p. 301.

52. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 145.

53. Catalogue of Columbia College, 1930-1931, p. 5; "Investiture," *Silhouette*, Agnes Scott College Annual, 1921, n.p.

54. Generally speaking, women's colleges were the first to institute student governments. See Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for Women* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 243.

55. Cornelius, *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College*: Bulletin of Limestone College 2, No. 1 (February 1932): p. 108; Kibler, *The History of Converse College*, p. 220.

56. Simpson, *Coker College*, p. 7.

57. Cox College Bulletin, 1922-1923, p. 23; Chicora College for Women Catalogue, 1922-1923, p. 105; Mary Baldwin College Catalogue, 1930-1931, p. 22; Hyslup, *Virginia Colleges*, p. 21; Agnes Scott College Bulletin, Catalogue 1940-1941, p. 125.

58. Catalogue of Columbia College, 1930-1931, p. 30.

59. Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College*, pp. 140-41.

60. Questionnaire response, Class of 1938, Salem College; Class of 1928, Wesleyan College; Class of 1938, Hollins College.

61. Questionnaire response, Class of 1933, Wesleyan College; Niederer, *Hollins College*, p. 60.

62. Edward Alvey, *A History of Mary Washington College, 1908-1972* (Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press, 1974), pp. 185-187.

63. Alvey, *A History of Mary Washington*, pp. 186-187.

64. Anne Firor Scott, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties," *Journal of Southern History* 80 (August 1964), p. 302.

65. Questionnaire responses, Class of 1928, Wesleyan College; Class of 1933, Salem College.

66. Questionnaire responses, Class of 1933 and Class of 1938, Wesleyan College.

67. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 123, 114.

68. Estelle Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s," *The Journal of American History* 61 (September 1974): p. 393.

69. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, pp. 92, 165; Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, p. 107.

70. Persis Cope, "The Women of 'Who's Who': A Statistical Study," *Social Forces* 7 (December 1928): pp. 216-217.

71. Willis J. Ballinger, "Spinster Factories: Why I Would Not Send a Daughter to College," *The Forum* 87 (May 1932): p. 302.

72. Time Inc., *The U.S. College Graduate*, pp. 13, 16.

73. See Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, p. 119, for statistics which led to the public concerns of the 1890's.

74. "Economic Status of University Women," *Monthly Labor Review* (February 1940): p. 346.

75. William H. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 107.

76. For a feminist criticism of orthodox Freudianism, see Dee Garrison, "Karen Horney and Feminism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6 (Summer 1981): pp. 672-691.

77. Sandra Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 8 (Spring 1983): pp. 422-450.

78. John Shelton Reed, "The Same Old Stand?" *Why the South Will Survive by Fifteen Southerners* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1981), p. 18.

79. Geoffrey Perrett, *America in the Twenties: A History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), p. 243.

80. Perrett, *America in the Twenties*, pp. 73, 84-88.

81. Robert Bone, "The Negro Renaissance," in *The Twenties: The Critical Issues*, pp. 121, 126.

82. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, pp. 560-561.

83. Quoted in Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman* (Baton Rouge, La: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), p. 517. Tillman, it is interesting to note, was the founder of Winthrop, the South Carolina college for women.

84. Ostrander, "The Revolution in Morals," p. 130.

85. James Weinstein, "Radicalism in the Midst of Normalcy," *The Twenties: The Critical Issues*, p. 26; Reed, "The Same Old Stand?" p. 25.

86. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, pp. 599, 493, 618.

87. William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: G. Braziller, 1961), p. 146.

88. Of the 204 women who returned questionnaires from the classes of 1923, 1928, 1933, and 1938 of Hollins, Queens, Salem, Sweet Briar, and Wesleyan Colleges, 162 (79 percent) had fathers who were professional or businessmen; 12 (6 percent), farmers or planters; 6 (3 percent), government or military employees; 18 (9 percent), salesmen or clerks. Only two (less than one percent) had parents who were working class (one was a machinist; the other, a repairman). Four respondents did not indicate their father's occupation.

89. "To the Alumnae of St. Mary's School," June 1, 1936, Nell Battle Lewis Papers, North Carolina State Archives.

90. Of the 204 women surveyed in 1983, 143 (70 percent) made comments of this nature.

91. Questionnaire response, Class of 1938, Hollins College.

92. Shirley Abbott, *Womenfolks: Growing Up Down South* (New Haven: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), p. 167.

93. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, p. 100; Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 180.

94. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, p. 162; Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, p. 180.

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The Founding and Early Years of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America

ROBERT E. FIERSTIEN

Temple Beth Or, Brick Town, New Jersey

FOR EXACTLY A CENTURY, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America has been the spiritual center of the movement now known as Conservative Judaism. It has not only trained rabbis, cantors, teachers, and other Jewish scholars for the movement, it has also been the principal spiritual source for the varying ideologies which lend Conservative Judaism its diversity and its multifaceted nature. Although the Seminary's primacy has been a Conservative tenet for many years, the origins of the institution itself are largely unknown, even to most scholars.[1] The popular notion is that, after the Seminary's founding in 1886, it remained a weak, struggling, and ineffectual institution, of Orthodox persuasion, until Solomon Schechter rescued it from oblivion in 1902, when he was brought from Cambridge to head the reorganized Seminary.[2] According to this interpretation, the Seminary's devotion to the highest standards of scholarship began with Schechter, as did the tendency to constitute a "third party" in American Jewish life, neither Orthodox or Reform. Indeed, even the movement's well-known diversity is often considered to be a legacy of Schechter, who never defined his conception of Conservative Judaism and generally avoided questions of Jewish law. Nevertheless, the early Seminary was a vital institution that had a powerful impact on American Jewish life, long before Schechter's arrival; and from the very beginning, it encompassed different approaches to the Jewish tradition. Not only in scholarship and in the quality of its graduates, but also in areas such as Zionism, Jewish education, and community service, the early Seminary did make a difference, setting a standard that has served the Conservative Movement well, down to this very day.

In order to understand the forces that led to the founding of the Seminary in 1886, we must first briefly look at the American Jewish community of the 1880's, into which the Seminary was born. Among the quarter of a million American Jews at the time, the dominant group was the German Jews, who had come to the United States in the four decades before the Civil War, taking over community leadership from the older Sephardic element, whose roots went back well into Colonial times. Rapidly adapting to American life, the German Jews clamored for Americanized synagogues, that would reflect the Reform ideals to which some of them had been exposed in Germany. Whereas the

Colonial synagogues had all been Orthodox—even though their worshippers often tended to be somewhat lax in observance—after the Civil War, reforms such as mixed seating, organ playing, English prayers and sermons, and abridged prayer books became commonplace on the American scene. Perhaps the greatest need of the American Jewish community in the latter half of the nineteenth century was for American-trained, ordained rabbis, who would communicate with the next generation on its own terms. Towards this end, the Philadelphia leader, Rev. Isaac Leeser, founded Maimonides College in 1867; but, after a few years, due to a lack of community interest and inadequate financial support, it closed its doors without having graduated a single rabbi.

By the 1880's, the American Jewish community was divided into two main groups—the Reform element, headed by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati, founder of the Hebrew Union College, and the much smaller traditional or "Orthodox" wing, headed by Rev. Sabato Morais, *hazzan* (cantor) of Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia. The Reform movement differed from the Orthodox in its humanistic understanding of the nature of revelation, as well as in its negation of the bindingness of *halacha*, or Jewish law. In using the term "Orthodox" to describe the traditional group, one must bear in mind that the orthodoxy of a Sabato Morais was very different from the Eastern European orthodoxy of New York's Lower East Side and similar ghettos around the country. This indigenous, Americanized orthodoxy, whose academic roots lay in Western Europe, stressed English sermons, adult education, synagogue decorum, and congregational singing—all of which differentiated it from the orthodoxy of the immigrants. In the 1880's, the "Russian" immigrants were just beginning to arrive in large numbers, establishing hundreds of small congregations on the Lower East Side.[3] Scorning the Reform, these immigrants also did not completely trust the traditionalism of the American Orthodox; and at least one immigrant commentator, J. D. Eisenstein, labeled this group "Conservative," as opposed to Orthodox.[4]

The Jewish Theological Seminary was created by a unique coalition of rabbis and laymen that Moshe Davis has termed the "Historical School"[5]—a movement that, from its very beginning, consisted of two separate wings. On the one hand, there was the right wing, the "Orthodox" faction, which was led by Sabato Morais, and included traditionalists such as Henry Pereira Mendes of New York, Bernard Drachman of Newark, and Henry Schneeberger of Baltimore. Although all of these men were willing to accept moderate changes in Jewish practice and liturgy, they vigorously opposed the radical reforms then running rampant in American Jewish life. On the other hand, the left wing of the Seminary movement consisted of rabbis who served in liberal congregations,

sometimes affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. These men freely accepted reforms in Jewish practice, particularly with regard to liturgy; but on issues such as the Sabbath and the dietary laws, they refused to bend as far as Isaac Mayer Wise and his followers. Headed by Alexander Kohut, rabbi of Congregation Ahavath Chesed of New York, the left wing of the Seminary movement also included Rabbis Benjamin Szold of Baltimore and Marcus Jastrow of Philadelphia.

This coalition's success in founding the Seminary was the result of several distinct factors and causes. First, there was the disillusionment and hostility that Isaac Mayer Wise often provoked, sometimes even among his supporters. In the words of the gifted writer Rebekah Kohut, wife of Alexander, who considered herself a friend, "Rabbi Wise seemed to have a genius for creating emnity."[6] Writing in his private diary, David Philipson, a member of H.U.C.'s first graduating class, later on its faculty, was even more critical, describing Wise as "a man who did much for Judaism but who made everything subserve his own ambition; he would use every means to crush his opponents."[7]

Although the Hebrew Union College had been founded in 1875 as a supposedly "non-denominational" rabbinical school, it soon became a definitely Reform institution, despite Wise's assertions to the contrary. Initially, the school had enjoyed the support of Sabato Morais—possibly because he hoped to have a branch of it opened under his control in Philadelphia[8]—but the faculty and the students gradually came to reflect Wise's Reform ideology, and Morais and the other traditionalists lost any illusions they may have held.

The so-called Treyfa (Non-kosher) Banquet of July, 1883, and its aftermath were the final blows for the traditionalists. Given as a celebration for the first four graduates of the Hebrew Union College, the Banquet, which included a wide range of non-kosher foods, was perceived as a deliberate insult and slap at the sensibilities of the traditionalists, several of whom were present for the dinner. In the ensuing controversy, Wise repeatedly used his newspapers to belittle both the dietary laws and their followers;[9] and soon the first calls for the establishment of a traditional seminary were heard. In New York, the editors of the *American Hebrew* proclaimed that the time had come "to have another college, to begin all over again. . . . The work can begin at once, its scale is small, its expenses slight."[10] By Chanukah, 1884, Sabato Morais had joined the fray, declaring that, "a seminary of learning . . . must be set up in obedience to the demands of enlightened 'Orthodoxy'."[11]

With the publication of the Pittsburgh Platform in November, 1885, the traditionalists were propelled into action. Nineteen Reform rabbis had assembled in Pittsburgh, and had issued a platform, consisting of eight articles,

or "planks." In its denial of ceremonial law, *Kashruth,* the Messiah, and the return to the Land of Israel, the platform really offered nothing new; but the bold public nature of its proclamation gave the traditionalists added impetus to found the new seminary.

Enlisting the aid of Rev. Henry Pereira Mendes, of New York's Congregation Shearith Israel, along with Rabbi Alexander Kohut and several wealthy and influential lay leaders, Morais presided over the Seminary's organizational meeting on Sunday, January 31, 1886. Over the course of the next year, the institution took shape: officers were elected for the Seminary Association, funds were raised, congregational support was enlisted from approximately two dozen synagogues, students were enrolled, and a curriculum was adopted, modeled after that of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau in Germany, where Kohut had been ordained. On Sunday, January 2, 1887, the Seminary held its opening exercises at New York's Lyric Hall; and Alexander Kohut proudly proclaimed his vision of the new institution:

> In the new Seminary a different spirit will prevail, different impulses will pervade its teachings and animate its teachers. This spirit shall be that of *Conservative* Judaism, the *conserving* Jewish impulse which will create in the pupils of the Seminary the tendency to recognize the dual nature of Judaism and the Law; which unites theory and practice, identifies body and the soul, realizes the importance of both matter and spirit, and acknowledges the necessity of observing the Law as well as studying it.[12]

In employing the term, "Conservative Judaism," Kohut was probably not speaking in the modern sense, for there was as yet no consciousness of a Conservative Movement; and, in addition, the Seminary's founders were trying to appeal to the entire spectrum of traditional American Jews. The following day, classes began in the Vestry Room of Shearith Israel. That first Preparatory Class consisted of only eight teen-age boys, including Joseph H. Hertz, who became the Seminary's first graduate, in June, 1894.

As we have noted, the Seminary's curriculum was modeled after that of the Breslau Seminary, which had been headed by Rabbi Zacharias Frankel, the European spiritual ancestor of Conservative Judaism.[13] Frankel's philosophy of "Positive Historical Judaism" stressed the evolutionary quality of Jewish faith and practice, while at the same time retaining an essential respect and loyalty towards Jewish law. Unlike an Eastern-European-style *yeshiva,* where the study

of the Talmud and the great Jewish legal codes constituted the bulk of the curriculum, Frankel's seminary introduced the student to the entire breadth of Jewish culture and civilization. In addition to Talmud and Codes, much emphasis was placed on Biblical studies; and the students also studied Midrash (Rabbinical commentaries and legends about the Bible), Jewish philosophy, history, Hebrew language and literature, pedagogy, archaeology, and homiletics.[14] The New York Seminary's curriculum was very similar to that of Breslau; and the connection is even more apparent when one realizes that not only was Alexander Kohut a Breslau graduate, but so also was Rabbi Bernard Drachman, the Seminary's first paid faculty member and most active teacher in its early years.

The Seminary's first students were generally all in their early teens, but as the status of the rabbinate improved in the 1890's, the institution attracted older, college-age men, with definite career goals. Indeed, in 1896, it was decided that no student could graduate from the Seminary unless he had first received a college degree;[15] and thereafter most of the students received their bachelor's degree a year or two before their ordination. Although the Seminary program was theoretically nine years, many of the European-born students entered the school with excellent Jewish backgrounds and received advanced placement. Generally, in the mid-1890's, the Seminary had, in total, approximately thirty students each year. The faculty also grew from its modest beginnings. Originally, the courses were taught voluntarily by the members of the Advisory Board, which consisted mostly of local rabbis, but it soon became necessary to hire an instructor, Rabbi Bernard Drachman, to carry most of the teaching load. As the student enrollment and the number of classes increased, so did the faculty; and by 1900, there were ten teachers, six of whom were paid.[16]

The highlight of the Seminary's early existence was the first graduation, in June, 1894, at which Joseph H. Hertz was ordained as a rabbi, and David Wittenberg and Henry M. Speaker received diplomas as teachers. By 1902, the Seminary had ordained seventeen men, fourteen as rabbis, and three as *hazzanim*. Contrary to popular belief, the early graduates of the Seminary did very well in their careers, with two of them, Joseph Hertz and Mordecai Kaplan, attaining international reputations. Hertz became Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, and was also a distinguished textual commentator. Kaplan taught at the Seminary for many years, was a prolific writer and theologian, and eventually founded the Reconstructionist movement. Other early graduates, such as Herman Abramowitz, Leon Elmaleh, and Charles Kauvar, went on to long and distinguished careers in the rabbinate. Israel Goldfarb was a cantor and rabbi, as well as a musicologist and a composer who wrote the standard music

for the Sabbath hymn, *Shalom Aleichem*.[17] Henry M. Speaker was the founding Principal of Gratz College, where he served for many years; while another resident of Philadelphia, Julius Greenstone, achieved fame for his popular explications of the Jewish tradition.

In addition to their formal studies the students also took part in a wide range of extracurricular activities. The school boasted two literary societies, one in Hebrew and the other in English; and both students and faculty took a special delight in speaking Hebrew. Like their modern-day counterparts, the students of the early Seminary often accepted pulpits for the High Holidays; and some of them held student pulpits during the year as well.

Many students taught in congregational religious schools, particularly in those established on the Lower East Side to help the immigrants. Indeed, Seminary students were keenly aware of the plight of the immigrants in ghetto areas, and they made a conscious attempt to help them by providing Jewish religious, educational, and cultural opportunities for both adults and children. Students often gave free lectures on Jewish themes at the Educational Alliance, helped conduct a "Young People's Synagogue" on the East Side, and founded an organization called the Jewish Endeavor Society to work with the immigrants.[18]

Another area in which the early Seminary reached out to the community was Zionism, for the great majority of students and faculty members were staunchly committed Zionists. In the 1890's, this required courage, because Zionists were often attacked, generally by Reform leaders, for having raised the spectre of dual loyalty, which posed a threat to the more assimilated elements of American Jewry. Community leaders as diverse as Isaac Mayer Wise and Jacob Schiff viewed Zionism as objectionable, for they deeply feared that Zionism would provoke anti-Semitism in this country. In 1896, Seminary students helped to found the Young American Zionists, working along with students from C.C.N.Y.; and in 1899, they founded Z.B.T., a college fraternity based on Zionist principles.[19]

Although the early Seminary was academically successful, it nevertheless suffered from a number of problems that intensified over the years. For one thing, the Seminary never achieved recognition or popularity on the Lower East Side among the Orthodox Jews whom it sought to lead. Perceiving the Seminary as an "uptown" institution, the East Siders were skeptical of the school's traditionalism;[20] and the attempt by the Seminary leadership to found an Orthodox Union, although successful, ultimately backfired. Initially, the Seminary leaders had hoped that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, which they helped to organize in 1898, would serve as a source of congregational support for J.T.S.;[21] but, after a number of years, their plans were completely

frustrated as the Union embraced the newly-established Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, which later became the basis for Yeshiva University.

Another major problem of the early Seminary was finances. The institution was never able to establish a substantial endowment fund; and, although its expenses averaged less than $10,000.00 per year, it could barely raise this sum. With the acquisition of its first permanent building in 1892, the Seminary was forced to make mortgage payments; and, despite the ongoing generosity of the philanthropist Jacob Schiff, the institution was hard-pressed to meet its obligations.

The Seminary's greatest problem was a crisis of leadership. When Alexander Kohut died in 1894, the Seminary lost its most prestigious scholar and a rabbi who had the potential to marshall the forces of moderate Reform on behalf of the school. With the passing of Sabato Morais in 1897, the Seminary lost not only a brilliant teacher, it lost its guiding light, a man who had spent countless hours strengthening the institution, personally inspiring its students. Finally, in 1901, the Seminary lost Joseph Blumenthal, a devoted lay leader who had been its president since 1886. With the loss of the leaders of its left and right wings, the Seminary now appeared to be on the verge of losing its constituency.

Faced with this crisis of leadership, the Seminary trustees attempted to bring Solomon Schechter to America, to replace Dr. Morais. As the man who had recovered the contents of the Cairo Geniza, a brilliant speaker and writer who was teaching at Cambridge, Schechter was probably the most famous Jewish scholar in the English-speaking world; and the trustees were unanimous in their choice. Nevertheless, when the institution was unable to raise sufficient funds to guarantee Dr. Schechter's contract, the door was left open for Jacob Schiff and some of his wealthy friends, including Leonard Lewisohn, the Guggenheim brothers, and Louis Marshall, to reorganize the Seminary in 1902, and to assume control of its leadership.[22]

Although their primary reason for taking control of the institution was that they wished to use it as a means of Americanizing the immigrants, changing them from their allegedly embarrassing, old-fashioned, Eastern European ways,[23] the new leaders of the Seminary were Reform Jews, and they felt little compulsion to monitor the traditionalism of the school. Naturally, some of the trustees of the "old" Seminary were less than pleased with the takeover of their beloved institution, particularly since Schiff and the others had not previously been on the board; but they suppressed their resentment because they realized that, without the newcomers' money, the Seminary would be unable to survive. In addition, Schiff and his friends had promised that they would not alter the Seminary's religious policy; and, surprisingly, both the old and the new groups

did not seem to realize that the appointment of the independent-minded Dr. Schechter would make such changes inevitable. With the conclusion of the 1901-1902 academic year and the graduation on July 1, 1902, the old Seminary gave way to the new.

With the arrival of Solomon Schechter in 1902, the Seminary became a very different institution. Schechter assembled a brilliant group of full-time teachers, such as Louis Ginzberg, Alexander Marx, Mordecai Kaplan, Israel Friedlaender, and Israel Davidson; and he eventually turned the Seminary into a graduate school. Under Schechter, the Seminary became a much more "Conservative" institution, gradually losing its ties to the Orthodox. Nevertheless, as we have seen, given the hostility of many East Siders to the Seminary from the very beginning, this break was probably inevitable.

As an academic institution, the early Seminary was far more successful than is generally recognized; and in diverse areas such as Jewish education, social work, and Zionism, it did play an important role in the life of the community. Equally important, it provided a group of modern, university-trained, traditional rabbis who would form a solid base for the fledgling Conservative movement. Although the Seminary was not yet a definitely "Conservative" institution, since it still tried to reach out to the Orthodox, its Breslau-inspired curriculum was remarkably similar to that of the modern Seminary; and most of the early graduates identified with the Conservative ideology. It is often thought that Conservative Judaism emerged out of the accommodation of the Eastern European immigrants with the demands of modern American life, but a careful study of the early Seminary reveals that this theory needs revision. The early Seminary was patterned after Western European models; and the first synagogues to support it were generally well-established, Americanized congregations, that did not appeal to immigrants. How the religious outlook of the Seminary came to touch the hearts of so many American Jews is a story that, indeed, needs telling; but any serious study of the growth of Conservative Judaism must surely begin with the early Seminary. For one hundred years, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America has sought to remain loyal to the broad educational program envisioned by its founders; and it is the richness and variety of that program which have helped to produce the pluralism and diversity of contemporary Conservative Judaism.

NOTES

1. For a full discussion of the early Seminary, see my D.H.L. dissertation, *From Foundation To Reorganization: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1886-1902* (Jewish Theological Seminary, 1986).

2. See, e.g., Howard Morley Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1958), p. 536, and Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews: From the Babylonian Exile to the Present* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), pp. 696-697.

3. Jonathan D. Sarna, trans. and ed., *People Walk on Their Heads, Moses Weinberger's Jews and Judaism in New York'* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 40.

4. Judah David Eisenstein, "Yesod HaSeminar HeHadash," in *Ozar Zikhronothai Autobiography and Memoirs* (New York: J. D. Eisenstein, 1929), p. 206; reprinted from the *New Yorker Yidishe Zeitung*, 1886.

5. See Moshe Davis, *The Emergence of Conservative Judaism: The Historical School in 19th Century America* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965).

6. Rebekah Kohut, *As I Know Them, Some Jews and A Few Gentiles* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1939), p. 206.

7. Stanley F. Chyet, "Isaac Mayer Wise: Portraits by David Philipson," in *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus*, Bertram W. Korn, ed. (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976), p. 87.

8. See Jacob Ezekiel (Secretary of H.U.C.) to Sabato Morais, March 8, 1877, Morais Papers, Dropsie University.

9. *American Israelite*, August 3, 1884, p. 4.

10. *American Hebrew*, February 15, 1884, p. 2.

11. Ibid., December 19, 1884, p. 84.

12. Ibid., January 7, 1887, p. 8.

13. See Ismar Schorsch, "Zacharias Frankel and the European Origins of Conservative Judaism," *Judaism*, (Summer 1981), pp. 344-354.

14. M. Brann, *Geschichte des Judisch-Theologischen Seminars (Frankel'sche Stiftung) in Breslau* (Breslau: Druck Von Th. Schatzky, G.M.B.H., 1904), p. 68.

15. *Proceedings*, J.T.S.A., 1896, p. 36.

16. *Proceedings*, J.T.S.A., 1900, p. 5.

17. Macy Nulman, *Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music* (N.Y.: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1975), p. 89.

18. Bernard Drachman, *The Unfailing Light: Memoirs of an American Rabbi* (N.Y.: Rabbinical Council of America, 1948), pp. 225-226.

19. The initials stood for "Zion b'mishpat tipodeh," "Zion shall be redeemed through justice." See *American Hebrew*, March 10, 1899, p. 653.

20. *American Hebrew*, November 17, 1899, p. 42.

21. Ibid., April 1, 1898, p. 640.

22. Ibid., April 4, 1902, pp. 596-600.

23. For a discussion of the motivations behind the reorganization, see Herbert Rosenblum, "The Shaping of an Institution: The 1902 Reorganization of the Seminary," *Conservative Judaism*, (Winter 1973), pp. 39-40.

Against the Odds: Mother Irene Gill and the Founding of the College of New Rochelle

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ALTHOUGH BETWEEN 1896 AND 1955 Catholic female religious orders established one hundred and forty Catholic women's colleges in the United States, few enjoyed the reputation of the College of New Rochelle. Founded in 1904, it was the nation's fourth Catholic women's college, the first in New York State. More importantly, from its beginnings until the disestablishment of Catholic women's colleges in the 1960s and 1970s, New Rochelle stood apart as the largest and one of the most independent, cosmopolitan, and academically competitive colleges of its kind. Unlike diocesan colleges—those tied to a specific diocese and local prelates—New Rochelle received virtually no funds or bureaucratic assistance from the archbishopric of New York. Nor was the school among the socially elite. The order that administered it had a long history of educating women, but was not particularly well-endowed. Moreover, at no point did New Rochelle attempt to compete with the reputation that other Catholic women's colleges, Marymount and Manhattanville Colleges, for example, developed in that area.[1]

New Rochelle catered largely to students of Irish middle class families, by and large, but not exclusively, from metropolitan New York. Similar to other Catholic women's colleges for its advocacy of middle class domestic motherhood, New Rochelle distinguished itself for cultivating a strong academic program and preprofessional orientation. It was, throughout the history of Catholic women's higher education, the most academic of Catholic women's colleges. It produced an impressive array of graduates who pursued distinguished careers in teaching, nursing, and social work, as well as in a wide variety of careers not traditionally defined as female such as higher education, administration, business, law, medicine, engineering, and politics.

The rather unique character of this school may be attributed in large part to its founder, Mother Irene Gill. Inasmuch as any institution can assume the character of a founder, the College of New Rochelle did. An immigrant from Ireland, Mother Irene was independent, cosmopolitan, and ambitious in the name of her religion and community. Inspired by a complicated personal history and living in a world in which religion cloaked politics, she made more out of less by playing a faster and smarter game than any of her contemporaries.

I

Mother Irene Gill was born Lucy Gill on March 25, 1860 in Galway, Ireland. She was one of Joshua and Catherine Fox Gill's twelve children. Exactly where in the family line-up she fell is uncertain, although somewhere towards the end is likely. While the family was still in Ireland an older sister joined the Sisters of Mercy and two older brothers emigrated, one to Australia, the other to New York. Young Lucy Gill had at least one younger sister, Elizabeth, who followed her into religious life, and a younger, unnamed brother. The overall religiosity of Irish culture and the example her older sister set may explain the one, (if true) note reported about Lucy Gill as a child: that her favorite game was to "play nuns."[2]

Like many of their countrymen generations before and after them, the Gills left Ireland in 1872.[3] Unlike many of their counterparts, however, the family did not all emigrate together.[4] Lucy's father and a brother moved to Australia while her mother brought her, Elizabeth, and a younger brother to live with the brother already settled in New York. Lack of documentation leaves unknown whether interpersonal reasons promoted the separation. It is arguable that economic factors may have made Australia more appealing to Lucy's father, but records account for no reason why the rest of the family did not move with him. There is no evidence that her parents reunited.[5]

This immigration pattern, whatever the reasons, must have had some kind of effect on Lucy; it may have, in fact, encouraged her decision to enter religious life. Without a father to establish the psychological patterns of a traditional family, such an arrangement may have seemed foreign. The objective realities of Irish nineteenth century immigrant families may have made that loss even more poignant. Not marrying may have been the means of avoiding the devastation of poverty, desertion, abuse, and alcoholism. Without the emotional and financial stability that a father could give her, Lucy may have considered the potential for single-parenting in a world devoid of resources all too likely, and, consequently, all too undesirable.[6]

Of course, a number of other factors must have also contributed to her decision. Single life as a factory worker, domestic or even a teacher offered wages, independence, and an opportunity to explore the exciting urban world of late nineteenth century New York; to have chosen religious life implied an interest in repressing those temptations to subsume herself in the name of something larger.[7] The female dominated world of the convent was more like home than any other environment.[8] So, too, was it the only means to professional life for a woman of her background. Finally, there was faith itself. In a society

oriented more around religion in general and bound by social and cultural distinctions defined by certain religions in particular, faith provided personal direction and essential community support. Not to appreciate the importance that Lucy Gill must have attached to faith, its meaning to her both spiritual and material, is to misunderstand the most central dimension of her character. For whatever other reasons motivated Lucy Gill to enter religious life: family life, culture, example, poverty, or professional ambition, faith was certainly one of those factors, and most likely the one most apparent to her.[9]

With these various factors acting on her, Lucy Gill was inducted into religious life at the New York headquarters of the Ursuline community at Morrissina (Bronx, New York) in 1880.[10] It was an order appropriate to her budding personality. The Ursulines were innovators in teaching. Established in 1535 by Angela Merici, they emerged as one of the more prominent features in a wave of counter-reformation measures the Church adopted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: an order committed to educating young Catholic girls. A number of orders like it—the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or the Mercy Sisters for example, followed Merici's example and in the early modern period created convent schools throughout Western Europe; the founding of these schools marked the beginning of systematized, formal education for women in the West. Competition did not kowtow the original order, however; the Ursulines moved up from Italy into France and Belgium, and then quickly to the New World. The Ursuline Academy of New Orleans for example, established in 1727, was for decades the only institution of its kind in America. In succeeding centuries the Ursulines participated in virtually all of the most important Roman Catholic colonizing efforts in North America.[11]

Lucy Gill's choice of religious names was even more revealing, for postulants almost always knew something of their namesakes. Furthermore, that the name was uncommon suggests it held particular meaning for her. "Irene" while not unheard of, was not a particularly common religious name. The name fared poorly against the tide of more obvious saints' names such as Mary, Elizabeth, or Teresa, or what have, by now, become legendary "academic" or "male" female religious names, such as "Sister Scholastica" or "Sister Saint John." There was no "saint" Irene, although there was a mythical martyr, indeed, whose story did have significance for Mother Irene's life.[12]

According to the myth, an angel informed Irene of Christianity and a disciple of Paul baptized her. Opposed to her Christian leanings, her father bound her to a wild horse. Irene escaped unhurt, but not the father: the horse killed him. Inspired by God, Irene restored him back to life with prayers, after which he embraced Christianity.

This story is powerful. The education from an angel and the baptism through a disciple of Paul established direct connection with the divine, the Church, and fate. It demonstrated Irene's dedication to faith, for it tested her against a most difficult opposition—the will of the father. Escape from death was her reward, enhanced when she assumed the power of resurrection. The conversion was tantamount to a triumph of the daughter over the father.

To have chosen this name, Lucy Gill must have identified with certain emotions or qualities in the legend: inspiration, determination, combativeness, a willingness to challenge authority, and righteousness. It is a name whose story is hardly lacking in determination and will, if not hidden resentments and personal struggle. In retrospect, her decision to take it would prove almost prophetic. She could not have made a better choice.

II

Mother Irene spent the first seventeen years of religious life teaching in a parochial school on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. In 1893, her community elected her superior of the house and principal of the school. She immediately proved great fitness for both positions. Mother Irene added a female academy to the grammar school. She then appealed to the New York State Board of Regents for accreditation, which she soon received. At that time it was the only Catholic female academy in New York recognized by the board. In the same year, Mother Irene took responsibility for a teacher certification program managed by the Ursuline Sisters. Under her direction, this program became known for attracting non-Catholic as well as Catholic students from the area.[13]

These projects marked Mother Irene as a timely institutional builder. In the year before she founded the academy, the New York diocese had only two female high schools, the elite Manhattanville Academy and the diocesan Mount Saint Vincent. Both long-standing institutions with different kinds of histories and clientele—the first prestigious by social position, the second middle class but well-established—together they could not begin to accommodate the large numbers of Catholic families who sought a high school education for their daughters. In the years following 1893, the five New York boroughs witnessed a virtual explosion of Catholic female academies. Orders that either hesitated or failed to build academies lost considerable prestige and recruitment from succeeding generations.[14]

At the same time, the enhancement of the teacher certification program kept pace with contemporary trends in female professionalization and employment. By the late nineteenth century, teaching was the primary female profes-

sion, a means of upward mobility for women, economic autonomy, and professional expression. Since requirements for this certificate were minimal relative to contemporary standards—a high school diploma as well as a teaching certificate sufficed—late nineteenth century Catholic women who aspired to follow in the footsteps of their white, Anglo-Saxon counterparts enthusiastically embraced these programs as a means of professional placement.[15]

Both of these institutions also placed Mother Irene in a position to move on to higher education when that moment would arise. Upward mobility around the turn of the century underlined the establishment of colleges in roughly the same period. Catholic, middle class, (largely) Irish families desired educational opportunities for their daughters similar to those which were increasingly available to young women in the mainstream. Furthermore, in late nineteenth century New York the City School Board raised academic requirements for teachers from a high school diploma to a college degree. Catholic women, already having received entré into the city schools and showing no signs of abatement, therefore required a college education to continue their work. The fear that young women might leave the Church either in search or as a result of education outside of the community prompted an otherwise recalcitrant hierarchy to sanction higher education for women.[16] Thus, Mother Irene's efforts placed her at the forefront of some of the most important currents in the Catholic educational community.

On a practical level, the academy introduced Mother Irene to new and important contacts. She immediately won the respect of one of the inspectors of the City School Board. A district superintendent sent his daughter to the academy; he later accompanied Mother Irene to discuss changes in teacher certification policy with the Superintendent of New York City Schools in 1898. About the same time Mother Irene met Dr. Augustus Downing. Originally a member of the New York City Board of Education, Downing later became first Assistant Commissioner of Education of the State of New York as well as a supporter, friend, and confidant to Mother Irene throughout the much of the early life of the college.[17] If not important enough on their own, these contacts brought to the surface a distinguishing mark in Mother Irene's character: an interest in and a desire for the approval of non-Catholics. Rather than relying solely on the archbishopric for assistance and approval, Mother Irene discovered a broader audience, one whose values she could in part begin to assume and whose members she could deal with on her own.

Jewish immigration in the Lower East Side eventually tested these newly-developed abilities. Prompted to establish a new location, Mother Irene purchased property on West 59th Street, the site of a prosperous Catholic

population, in the spring of 1895. She intended to use the summer to prepare the property for the fall reopening of the academy. But before she could begin, the archbishop—John Corrigan—announced her plan unacceptable: the academy infringed on the territory of his diocesan order, the Sisters of Charity. Mother Irene immediately sold the property and rented a brownstone on Park Avenue and 93rd Street to keep the school active.

She then began a search for a more permanent location. On the advice of a parish priest and friend from the old neighborhood, Rev. Michael O'Farrell, Mother Irene decided to leave Manhattan altogether. While still under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, the school was out of the area claimed by the Sisters of Charity: the middle and upper reaches of Manhattan. In September 1897 she moved her order to New Rochelle, an emerging suburb of New York, where Rev. O'Farrell's friend, Rev. Thomas O'Laughlin, managed a parish. In that same years, Mother Irene established a nursery, grade school, and another academy.[18]

Many issues remain unclear about this episode. It is unknown, for example, whether Mother Irene was aware that West 57th constituted pre-claimed territory. It is also unknown if she had originally asked the archbishop's permission to purchase the property, or if under pressure from the Sisters of Charity, he simply reversed an earlier decision and forced her to move. What is clear, however, is that this incident helped to pave the way for the founding of the college. To begin with, this conflict taught Mother Irene important lessons about the politics of the archdiocese. New York played host to a multitude of religious orders, with history defining the differences between them. The Ursulines were an independent order. Like the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary, Franciscans, or other independent orders, they owed obedience to the local prelate, but were not bound to his complete jurisdiction. In the case of controversies, a community could ask its motherhouse to appeal to Rome. Diocesan orders such as the Sisters of Charity, Dominicans, and Sisters of Saint Joseph, on the other hand, existed as an integral part of specific dioceses. Completely bound to the authority of their local bishop, they had virtually no channels for appeal. In short, they opted for favors in place of autonomy. Mother Irene surely understood the theoretical differences between orders, but had no prior first hand experience of their meaning.[18]

She also used these lessons in arranging details for the founding of the college. Establishing another reputable academy provided her, other members of the order, and students with a training ground. With the academy as her calling card and Rev. O'Farrell and Rev. O'Loughlin as her contacts, Mother Irene then became acquainted with a number of prestigious lay men. Between 1897

and 1904 Mother Irene met Justices Edward E. McCall, John D. Cremins, Martin J. Keogh, W. Bourke Cochran, and Morgan J. O'Brien, land developer and businessman Adrean Islin Jr., William H. Buckley, lawyer and Commissioner of Education in Albany, and Edward J. McGuire, a New York attorney.[20] When it came time to open the college, it was to these men, and not the archbishop, that she turned for support. In addition, the archbishop who had refused her in 1895 had died in 1903.[21] Although the political outline of the archdiocese still remained, with him were buried some of the more brilliant memories of competition, disappointment, and bitterness.

Finally, this episode may have triggered something deeply psychological in Mother Irene. Having been denied a perfectly reasonable, if not commendable, request by one who theoretically should have been her greatest support, Mother Irene may have been reminded of an earlier disappointment—her father leaving her and her mother, sister, and brother to brave immigration to the United States alone. In whatever complex of emotions that event may have inspired: anger, disappointment, loss, and fear, she had learned to live with those emotions independently and creatively, perhaps out of spite or with the desire of approval that accomplishment might bring. In denying Mother Irene's request, the archbishop may have touched on a particularly sensitive nerve, one that had the result of making her more inspired and productive. In fact, this nerve may have been all that the already accomplished nun needed to spring into more ambitious action.

Whatever the constellation of motivations, on July 4, at the public celebration of her silver jubilee, and in the company of religious and lay people alike, Mother Irene announced her intention to open a college for women.[22] The new archbishop—John Hayes—responded to her announcement with "hesitation;" a hesitation that stemmed from the same problem that had caused Mother Irene trouble in 1895: a natural alignment between the archbishopric and the Sisters of Charity. Yet this time, with the lessons of 1895 having been learned, Mother Irene gave her superior little room to move. She lined up a board of trustees composed of some of the most influential men in the New York Catholic community. She asked Reverends O'Farrell and O'Laughlin to assume the highest administrative positions of president and vice-president. She organized an administration and staff consisting of herself and other members of her order. From the academy she had a ready clientele of students, and from Augustus Downing accreditation on hold. Not least, she made her announcement in the presence of others, breaking the secrecy that underlined the authority of the archbishop by including witnesses to her intentions. Of course, there is the possibility that her sheer skill at placing the archbishop in a delicate position

made him defensive. But with tremendous support and preparation behind her, the archbishop had no choice but ultimately to grant her permission. As if she had been expecting them, and under the name the College of Saint Angela, Mother Irene accepted her first class of twelve less than two months later.[23]

III

Competition among religious orders in the archdiocese vowed to make this victory short-lived. The Sisters of Charity raised the status of their academy to that of a college in 1910. As would be expected, they had the overwhelming support of the archbishop. He provided financial assistance, facilitated bureaucratic connections, and selected board members both religious and lay. The Manhattanville Sisters of the Sacred Heart proved equally as formidable. As the most elite order in the archdiocese and sponsor of the oldest academy in the region, Mother Irene could not compete with its reputation or financial backing. Although the sisters did not open Manhattanville College until 1919, almost all Catholic educators expected that they would eventually do so. Less than fifteen miles away from New Rochelle, the Sisters of Divine Compassion had their motherhouse and academy. Small and with a particular history—their motherhouse in White Plains represented their only house—they nevertheless contained all the elements necessary for an order to found a college: an academy, an interest in educatión, and, not least, the endowment of their convent-founder. Good Counsel College opened in 1923.

The Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary added themselves to this pool in 1917. At the time of the founding of New Rochelle, the order was probably not well-known to Mother Irene. Originally a Brooklyn settlement, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary did not cross over until 1905. It was in that year that the superior of the community, Mother Butler, used a tremendous endowment she received from a wealthy cousin to build an academy in Tarrytown. Additional gifts would later allow her to found not only the most splendid and renowned Catholic women's college in the state, Marymount College, but an entire consortium of colleges on two continents. Within the next fifty years four more orders would establish colleges in the greater New York area.[24]

With the inevitability of a proliferation of colleges looming before her, Mother Irene embarked on a series of efforts to build her young school. She mailed announcements of the opening of the college to secular educators, businessmen, lawyers, friends both in and outside of in the Catholic community.[25] She solicited information about specific academic programs and

requirements from many mainstream schools: Adelphi, New York University, Barnard, and Columbia as well as making inquiries about undergraduate requirements for admission to graduate programs.[26] Synthesizing this information, Mother Irene established a curriculum that went beyond the basic requirements necessary for teaching certificates; course offerings included Greek, Latin, mathematics, English literature, history, two Romance languages, French and Spanish, and, of course, religious instruction. Not coincidentally, this course work resembled the classical curriculum of Vassar at the time of its founding.[27]

Elected Provincial to Northern United States and Canada in 1907, a position which demanded considerable time and travel, Mother Irene hardly lost interest in the school. On the contrary, she worked at an even higher level of management. Mother Irene applied for her first grant to the General Education Board in 1907, and a second one from the Sage Foundation in 1910.[28] In 1909 she and her blood sister, Mother Augustine (nee Elizabeth), petitioned the board for additions to the physical plant; their "petition" generated enough funds to build a dormitory, sports area, and chapel.[29] In 1910 she helped a former student who had problems with graduate work at Columbia. Afraid that Mother Irene would be disappointed to hear about the failure of one of her students, the professor wrote to her explaining the problem. The student received a Master's Degree in 1911.[30]

Also in 1910 Mother Irene agreed to change the name of her school from the College of Saint Angela to New Rochelle. Attached as she was to the name of the patron saint of the Ursuline Order, she allowed how the new title would integrate the school into the surrounding community.[31] And as further evidence of her drive for academic excellence, she was furious in 1913 when New Rochelle received a less than perfect rating from the Board of Education; she hustled her friend William H. Buckley into helping her improve New Rochelle's standing.[32]

Interest in Catholic women's higher education in general and New Rochelle in particular virtually invited expansion of residential units in the early and middle nineteen-teens. Mother Irene and her staff purchased several houses in the immediate area of the college to make room for an increase in student population. Housing arrangements compared favorably to the "cottage system" pioneered by Smith College three decades previous.[33] The opening of St. Joseph's College in Brooklyn and Marymount in Tarrytown, together with the imminent opening of Manhattanville in the late nineteen-teens, inspired Mother Irene to undertake a private review of the trusteeship and upper management.[34] This review eventually resulted in important board and administrative changes,

including the consolidation of her position as vice-president of the college and discussions about a successor for the ailing Father O'Farrell.[35] Significant changes in curriculum followed. Mother Irene oversaw the addition of an exponential number of courses to her original core, and, in addition, helped to organize programs in business, art, social work, domestic science, and journalism throughout the late teens and early twenties.[36]

Her efforts yielded important results. New Rochelle immediately established a reputation for upholding the highest academic standards available in Catholic women's higher education. Together with those standards, the school developed a commitment to training students for professional careers if they wanted them. In 1925, and once again with the help of Augustus Downing, New Rochelle received accreditation from the American Association of Colleges and Middle States Association. The American Association of University Women added New Rochelle to its list in 1929. By the early thirties, the college had its coveted "A" rating from the New York State Board of Education.[37] Of the Catholic women's colleges in the state, only Manhattanville and Marymont received similar accreditation, and both in imitation of New Rochelle's achievements.[38]

Moreover, unlike most schools who drew their student population from local high schools, New Rochelle students came from a broad cross section of metropolitan New York high schools, the state, continental United States, and even from abroad. After the middle 1920s it was not unusual to find students from areas of high Catholic populations such as Missouri, Louisiana, California, and Central and South America.[39] Yet, even with this unusual mix of students, a reputation for academic emphasis kept New Rochelle from becoming a socially elite college. To be sure, students from wealthy families attended New Rochelle, but the school did not specifically cater to them. In fact, the personal direction of the school was to the contrary; from its beginnings Mother Irene insured that the school would provide for academically worthy students whose families were without means.[40] Thus without becoming self-consciously elite, the student body was nevertheless more urbane and sophisticated than the average Catholic women's colleges.

Finally, alumnae statistics reveal the school's most enduring achievements. Beginning with the first class, graduates received welcome into the New York City school district as teachers. Sizable numbers went on to do graduate work, many at Columbia.[41] A 1929 alumnae survey noted that eighteen of its graduates had doctor's degrees, twenty-five had master's degrees, and twenty-nine were pursuing advanced degrees. Ten graduates taught at college level, 306 graduates were actively teaching at the high school level, and 169 in grade

schools. Nine graduates were principals. The school also claimed one actress (from the original class), two architects, two lawyers, and fourteen social workers.[42] Later alumnae followed in the footsteps of earlier generations. From the middle 1950s to the early 1960s, New Rochelle routinely graduated twenty-five to thirty students (out of classes of two to three hundred) who pursued graduate degrees at major universities including Harvard, Yale, Brown, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Georgetown, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Stanford.[49] In addition to these high achievers, New Rochelle always trained students for lower-level professions and careers.[44]

The work of organizing a college was by any measure hard, commendatory, and extraordinary. Inasmuch as prelates offered favors and connections to their diocesan orders, they seldom if ever did any of the actual administrative work such as meeting with board members, working out administrative or academic policies, organizing a faculty or curriculum, talking to students, personally insuring that all the bills were paid and the lights turned out at night. The same held true in the case of the independent orders. Nothing in reputation or financial backing excused administrators from the difficult and time-consuming daily tasks of beginning and maintaining a college. The difference between Mother Irene and her staff and the founders and staffs of other Catholic women's colleges came not, then, in the *amount* of efforts, but in the *kind* of efforts. No other founder demonstrated such intense interest in the secular educational world, pioneered extensive connections with outside educators or education boards, struggled with the archbishopric, planned the founding of the college out in such detail, sought out lay men from the community, advertised her school with such passion, consistently asked for outside information and help, or, on her own inspiration, worked herself and her order as hard to place the school on sound institutional ground.

Accordingly, no other school achieved the distinction that New Rochelle did. Its particular rival, Mount Saint Vincent, developed into a perfectly fine Catholic women's college. The current president of the Philippines, Corizon Aquino was once a student; the college graduated women who went on to professional careers. In fact, because of its location, it was unusually prestigious for a diocesan college. The history of its curriculum, academic programs, or graduate achievement does not, however, compare with that of New Rochelle. By the same token, inasmuch as Marymount and Manhattanville came to represent the creme-de-la-creme of American Catholic women's higher education, neither of these schools had the record that New Rochelle did in academic or preprofessional areas.[45]

Even with extraordinary resources, administrators at both of these colleges knowingly used New Rochelle as their model. When Mother Butler organized Marymount College she consulted many of the same men that Mother Irene had herself consulted ten and fifteen years beforehand, Augustus Downing for one. Mother Butler also had some of the same men on her Board of Trustees as did New Rochelle, including, Morgan J. O'Brien and Edward E. McCall. In 1927 when the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus attempted to raise the level of Manhattanville from that of an over-rated elite Catholic girl's finishing school to an accredited college, administrators looked to the College of New Rochelle for clues on both the means and ends of that process. To be sure, Marymount and Manhattanville graduated students who pursued professional careers, but both of these colleges were better known for preparing their students for good marriages, not careers. Through elaborate connections with other nationally known men's colleges such as Georgetown and Fordham and through association with Catholic communites at mainstream colleges and universities such as Yale and Columbia, these schools assisted young women into unions compatible with their religion and social station.[46]

It has been reported that M. Carey Thomas, in an attempt to distinguish Bryn Mawr from its Seven Sisters' rivals, once said that only the schools' "failures" married.[47] While no administrator of New Rochelle would use quite those words or even ascribe to their letter—and admitting that New Rochelle did not obtain the same level of class distinction that Bryn Mawr did even within the Catholic community—something of the flavor of Thomas's purported sentiments yet applied. New Rochelle compensated for its lack of hierarchical support and class distinction by becoming the not merely the largest but the most academic and preprofessional of Catholic women's colleges. Throughout the history of Catholic women's higher education, it educated more women for professional careers than any other college of its kind.

IV

Of Mother Irene's personality from the beginning of the college until her death in 1935, business correspondence, institutional developments, and memoirs speak. The passion with which she began the college appears to have been matched by efforts to better it. Her anger over the less than perfect rating nine years after founding is almost comical. The response she received to inquiries about it reveal, however, that her anger was quite real.[48] It was, after all, this kind of passion that prompted the accreditation of the high school and that

inspired Mother Irene to move out of New York City. It was also this kind of passion—unreasonable and overbearing—that lay behind much of what eventually became the accomplishments of the school.

Second to Mother Irene's passion was intelligence. Consciously or unconsciously, she was alert to the most contemporary currents in education within the Catholic community: indeed she picked up on the spirit of Americanization itself. By the same token, she displayed an almost brilliant skill in executing her ideas. As but one example, the men she consulted always spoke to her as an equal. After reading over the application that Mother Augustine had prepared for the Sage Foundation in 1910, Edward McGuire wrote explaining without self-pity or regret that the proposal was "too distinctively Catholic."[49] Likewise, when Mother Irene asked an outside educator, Nelson Hume, for an honest evaluation of New Rochelle, he gave her one. "This letter, as you may very well suppose, is extremely confidential," he wrote in a section devoted to discussing the board of trustees. "I do not wish to be in the position of criticizing an entire set of men, nor am I doing so. I know that there are exceptions on the Board, but since you asked my opinion I think the most helpful thing I can do in my little way is to tell you how this situation strikes me."[50] The criticisms he made in his letter were, in fact, disturbing, and even touched on the failing leadership of Mother Irene's old friend Rev. O'Farrell. Nonetheless, his criticisms were correct and necessary for the growth of New Rochelle at the time. In a world in which correspondence with and especially among religious gushed with deference, letters such as these stand out for their honesty and abiding sense of mutual respect.

Rumor has it that Mother Irene was stern and self-reserved.[51] One memoir reports that at a choir session led by her sister, a young novice mispronounced a word to sound like "boozer," prompting Mother Augustine and the rest of the choir to burst out laughing. Mother Irene quietly turned to her sister asking for an explanation. When told, she smiled politely and turned back to her hymnal.[52] Another sister noted that "her manner was retiring, she looked at us, each in turn, out of those kind brown eyes, not in a condescending nor mere friendly way, but as if she respected in us the presence of God." This same memoir also reports that Mother Irene would often sleep for but a few hours in ill-prepared and uncomfortable places, rising before others to hide the evidence of her nocturnal sacrifice.[53]

These descriptions, albeit partial, do not seem difficult to believe. Forced to leave Ireland as a child in the midst of want and family, separation developed in Lucy Gill an over-developed sense of responsibility. A deep religiosity reinforced the seriousness of an early adulthood. Moreover, the austerity and

discipline of religious life intensified emotional rigidity. Roman Catholic hagiographic literature is rife with descriptions of sacrifice based on the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the lives of martyrs and saints. It is quite likely that the author of the memoir from which this information is taken mentioned Mother Irene's "nocturnal sacrifice" not only as an imitative expletive of her subject's piety, but in the faint hope that the account might some day be used as evidence for a beatification or sainthood.

For our purpose this excerpt reveals the kind of strict, tightly bound, and neurotic qualities that leaders such as Mother Irene exhibited. To have become stern and reserved to the point of neurotic—in addition to pious and productive—fulfilled the expectations of followers who looked for precisely those qualities in their leaders. At the same time, these qualities were the emotional costs of a woman who accomplished more than anyone had expected of her, in spite of handicaps, and, not unlike her namesake, with spite against those who opposed her. Her overdetermination laid the foundation of New Rochelle. Her exactness is what made for exactness in her school. Shrewdness made her perhaps one of the most successful businesswomen of her day. Neurotic tendencies merely added emotional punctuation. They were the psychological means by which she maintained fuel for the fire.

All said, this description of her is not, however, complete. Exactness, ambition, calculation, and neurosis are on their own unsavory qualities. Mother Irene did not possess these qualities alone. Her philosophy was not one of possessive individualsim, unabashed upward mobility, nor seclusive psychopathology. The struggles of an impoverished twelve year-old immigrant girl virtually abandoned by her father were not the only emotions that shaped or sustained her; rather it was belief and commitment to the ideals of her religion, the principles of her order, and the life of her community that completed Mother Irene. The American Catholic community was her home, and her order the object of her most intense devotion. Past the age of twenty it was where she spent every day of her life. The politics that underlined that community caused her anger and frustration—and such intense devotion to her order may have been the individual ego that under the rules of religious life she was unable to express—but that community was also what gave her life definition and support. Her life and character is inexplicable outside of that context. Finally, and on a personal note: chocolate—taken only in small amounts—greatly comforted her.[54]

"I love you, I love each and every one of you, I pray for you all, for each and every one of you every day. You are all in my heart. God bless you," she was reported to have said at the last public appearance she made to students three

years before her death in 1935.[55] Strong words, perhaps, for someone who was known for her reserve. Yet, perhaps not. She was aged by that point, and illness may have softened her. But be age and illness and psychological explanations as they may, there was nothing in her code of exactness, self-containment, religiosity, intelligence, ambition, business skills, hard work, or neurotic tendencies that kept her from love. If Mother Irene spoke out of a hyperbole of complicated personal history informed by religious ideals and underwritten with ambition, she did so to hundreds—and by extension thousands—of Catholic women who benefited both personally and professionally from her efforts. But, as she might say, such a detailed look into the mechanics of her life is gratuitous and unnecessary, for the most important thing about Mother Irene is already there: it is the history of the college itself.

NOTES

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Abbreviations for material in the archives of the College of New Rochelle:

Box: Mother Irene Gill = MIG.
Box: History of College = HOC.
Box: Board of Trustees = BOT.
Box: Mother Xavier Fitzgerald = MXF.

1. 1896 marks the founding of the first Catholic college for women, 1955 the last comprehensive count of these schools before their disestablishment. Disestablishment refers to a college's disassociation from its religious foundations. As a result of a number of complicated social and economic factors, virtually all Catholic women's colleges disestablished in the middle 1960s to the middle of the 1970s. For histories of these schools including disestablishment, see dissertation in progress, T. Mitrano, "For the Love of God: Catholic Women's Higher Education in New York State, 1904-1965."

2. "Memoir of Mother Irene Gill" by Mother Gertrude Farmer, MIG.

3. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG.

4. Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1983).

5. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG.

6. Diner. *Erin's Daughters*. Also, for one of the most interesting but shielded portraits of Irish-American families see Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family; The Case for National Action* (Washington: 1965), also known as the Moynihan Report. For information on the effects of absent fathers on female development see, E. M. Hetherington, "Effects of Father Absence on Personality Development in Adolescent Daughters," *Developmental Psychology*; 7 (1972), p. 313-326, and Hetherington, "Divorce: A Child's Perspective," *American Psychologist*, 34 (1979), 859-865.

7. Diner, *Erin's Daughters*. Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Louer East Side, 1890-1925* (New York: Monthly Review, 1985). Also, for those who find value in connections between literature and history, see Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: Random House, 1943).

8. For something of the spirit of this environment see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Female World of Live and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs*, 1 (1975), pp. 1-29.

9. For a brief, working historian's discussion of religion see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1974), p. 161.

10. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG.

11. Marguerite Aron, *The Ursulines, and The Ursuline Method of Education*. Also, see Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter one.

12. Rev. S. Bering-Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh, John Grant: 1914) XVI, entry: "Irene, mythical martyr."

13. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG; *Chronicles of the Ursuline Community of New Rochelle*, pp. 52-60.

15. Sheila Rothman, *Women's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideas and Practices*, (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Roberta Franfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn of the Century America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977); Barbara Kuhn Campbell, *The Liberated Woman: Prominent Women in the Progressive Era* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1979); Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford, 1980); Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) and Alice Kessler-Harris, "Independence and Virtue in the Lives of Wage-Earning Women: The United States, 1870-1930," in *Women and Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, Judith Friedlander et al, eds. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986).

16. Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter two.

17. *Chronicles*, pp. 52-60. Cuddy, p. 15-17, Mother Justin McKiernan, O.S.U., "It's Well to Remember: A Memoir of Mother Xavier Fitzgerald, O.S.U." (New Rochelle: n.d.), pp. 26-28. MXF.

18. *Chronicles*, pp. 52-60.

19. See Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter two.

20. *Chronicles*, pp. 52-60, Cuddy, pp. 22.

21. Thomas T. McAvoy, *History of the Catholic Church* (South Bend: Notre Dame Press, 1958).

22. *Chronicles*, pp. 52-60. The Chronicles state that Mother Irene made this announcement at her jubilee, mathematics (1880-1904 = 24 years) notwithstanding.

23. *Chronicles*, pp. 52-60. Cuddy, p. 197.

24. See Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter two.

25. Brother Chrysostom, Manhattan College, to Mother Irene; December 19, 1905; William Andrew, Washington Irving High School, to Mother Irene, May 2, 1908; Gunnison Erasmus Hall High School, to Mother Irene, May 29, 1908; Department of Education, New Rochelle, New York, to Mother Irene, April 13, 1908; New York Training School for Teachers, to Mother Irene, May 28, 1906; W. Felter, to Mother Irene, May 28, 1906; Dewitt Clinton High School, to Mother Irene, n.d.; Bryant High School to Mother Irene; June 12, 1905; Edward J. McGuire to Mother Irene, September 17, 1906; Laura D. Gill, Dean of Barnard College to Mother Irene, September 18, 1906 (no known relation); James E. Russell, Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University to Mother Irene, September 19, 1906; H. Ryan, First Assistant Commissioner of Education, Albany to Mother Irene, September 20, 1906; James Lee, District Supervisor, Department of Education to Mother Irene, September 20, 1906; Emma L. Johnson, Brooklyn Training School, Department of Education to Mother Irene, October 1, 1906; William H. Maxwell, City Superintendent, Department of Education to Mother Irene, October 1, 1906; F. P. Keppel, Secretary of University, Columbia, to Mother Irene, October 5, 1906. MIG. Appreciation is due to Mrs. Haswell, Columbia University Archives, for clearing up the identify of F. P. Keppel.

26. Mr. Brook Adelphi College to Mother Irene, June 19, 1912; Thomas M. Balleit, Dean New York University, to Mother Irene, December 15, 1904; William H. Carpenter, Columbia University, November 14, 1913; V. C. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College to Mother Irene, January 18, 1915; F. F. Jones to Mother Irene, October 10, 1915.

27. New Rochelle Course Guide 1908.

28. Notes from minutes of Board of Trustees meetings, 1904-1945. BOT.

29. Ibid.

30. George Willis Botsford to Mother Irene, March 8, 1909; MIG. Report to Board of Trustees, 1911, alumnae report. HOC.

31. Notes from minutes of Board of Trustee meetings, 1904-1945, BOT.

32. William H. Buckley to Mother Irene, October 20, 1913 and June 21, 1916. MIG.

33. Notes from minutes of Board of Trustee meetings, 1904-1945, BOT. For information on the early residential life at Smith College (the "cottage system"), see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984) pp. 71-78.

34. Nelson Hume to Mother Irene, March 1, 1917, BOT.

35. Course Guide, College of New Rochelle, 1911. The administrative hierarchy of Catholic women's college was, historically, a delicate and complicated arrangement. In the earlier years of Catholic women's higher education, female religious never assumed the highest positions, even though, for all intents and purposes, they did virtually all of the work and everyone in the Catholic community knew it. Almost every archivist I have talked to insisted that I know that the president and vice-president positions held by prelates or other members of the clergy were *pro forma* positions, and that the "dean" was the person who did all of the actual work. At the time of each college's founding, the "dean" was a female religious. Later in the history of these schools, independent orders especially dropped the *pro forma* restrictions and allowed members of their own order to assume the highest administrative positions. That Mother Irene assumed the position of vice-president so early in the history of Catholic women's higher education was unusual, and a measure of the strength of her individual accomplishments. After her death the position again fell to a clergy member and was not turned over to a female religious until the 1950s when New Rochelle terminated the *pro forma* naming of clergy to the administration. Again, for details, see Mitrano, "For the Love of God . . ." chapter two especially.

36. Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter four; course guides, College of New Rochelle (CNR) 1915-1925; Notes from minutes of Board of Trustee meetings, 1904-1945; McKiernan. "It's Well to Remember" HOC.

37. Notes from minutes of Board of Trustee meetings, 1904-1945, BOT. McKiernan.

38. Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter three.

39. Class lists, graduation, with addresses, *Annalles*, (yearbook of the College of New Rochelle), 1911-1920; 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960; notation about College of New Rochelle in *Congressional Record*, 1975.

40. William H. Buckley to Mother Irene, September 28, 1908, MIG.

41. Notes from minutes of Board of Trustee meetings, 1904-1945, BOT.

42. Alumnae statistics, *Quarterly*; (alumnae journal for the College of New Rochelle) 1929.

43. Commencement Bulletins, Class of 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963.

44. "Class Notes," *Quarterly*; 1960-1975, 1984 Alumnae Report.

45. Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter two.

46. Mitrano, "For the Love of God," chapter two and three.

47. Graduates of Bryn Mawr "know" of their famous president's statement, and I thank Elizabeth Fox-Genovese for first bringing Thomas's words to my attention. Contemporary students of Thomas contend that she made no such statement, and have cited examples of the virtual opposite: public occasions at which Thomas stressed the marriageability and fertility of graduates. (Marjorie Housepian Dobkin ed., *The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979), p. 23 especially). Whether she actually ever said those words or not, in the end, does not matter; that those

words became part of the personal mystique of M. Carey Thomas and public persona of Bryn Mawr—indicative, as the sentiment was, of the school's extraordinary academic accomplishments—does. Finally, it is worth noting another casual similarity between M. Carey Thomas and Mother Irene Gill: they were born relatively at the same time, the first in 1857, the second in 1860, and died in both the same month and year: December 2, 1935 and December 15, 1935 respectively. Mystics, beware!

48. William H. Buckley to Mother Irene, October 20, 1913 and June 21, 1916, MIG.

49. Edward J. McGuire to Mother Irene, December 20, 1909, MIG.

50. Nelson Hume to Mother Irene, March 1, 191, BOT.

51. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." and Sister M. Ancilla Kountz, O.S.U., untitled memoir of Mother Irene Gill, written in 1933, MIG; discussion with Sr. Mary Russo and Sr. Martha Cunningham, archivists, College of New Rochelle.

52. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG.

53. Kountz, untitled memoir, MIG.

54. Kountz, untitled memoir, MIG.

55. Farmer, "Memoir of . . ." MIG.

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Michigan State University

Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Ellen W. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

WE HAVE HERE THREE EXCELLENT NEW VOLUMES that join the distressingly small library of serious historical work on the American university since World War I. They announce, I hope, a growing confidence that our historical perspective is now long enough to enable us to treat the growth and elaboration of higher education in the United States in the fifty years since Verdun with the insight and depth that has been focused on the preceding fifty. These volumes join Carol Gruber's *Mars and Minerva;* Harold Wechsler's, Marcia Synnott's, and Stephen Steinberg's studies of admissions discrimination; and Helen Horowitz's *Alma Mater* (1984) as excellent examples of studies that explore developments in higher education in the period after the Great War from a multiple- rather than a single institution perspective.

Among the most basic issues about writing the history of modern higher education is how to discuss higher education as a single entity in the face of the development of so many different kinds of institutions and the exponential growth in the number of young people enrolled. If a single large modern university can be thought of as a collection of disparate interests held together by a common plumbing system, can we even begin to write about the whole enterprise of higher education after 1920—research universities, junior colleges, teacher training colleges, urban universities, parochial colleges, and so on—as a common enterprise? These volumes suggest both how difficult and how necessary it is to remember that in many important respects—especially in the public's perception—higher education remains a single entity, bound inextricably in the public mind with mobility, economic success, and progress as well as with radicalism, irrelevance, and privilege.

These volumes suggest that during the period under review the balance tipped decidedly in favor of higher education's being seen as practical, relevant, progressive, and necessary—not luxurious, irrelevant, esoteric, and isolated. This was the period when the absent-minded professor gave way to the grantsman and consultant. Colleges were transformed from institutions where "an extra clever boy may go and still amount to something" (quoted in Levine, p. 17) to major components of the political economy of the United States. All three volumes contain excellent descriptions and analyses of these changes. They are less satisfying in explaining why and how that change took place—what motivated whom to strive to insert higher education into the center of the nation's development—and at describing what was lost in the transformation. But the richness of their descriptions gives the historian of higher education a much more secure platform from which to explore both the causes of this fundamental transformation of American higher education and to begin to assess its costs and consequences.

I

David Levine's *American College and the Culture of Aspiration* surveys the general history of higher education in order to describe both the growing popularity of "college education" among all kinds of Americans from 1915 to 1940 and the ways in which educators sought to channel those aspiring to higher education into institutions "suitable" to their station. "College" in his title indicates not that he is concentrating on institutions without graduate schools, but that he is focusing exclusively on the undergraduate experience. But even that paring of his subject matter leaves him with a rich and dense tapestry. Levine looks beyond the traditional Ivy League colleges and the large state universities to explore developments in the emerging second-tier state normal schools turning themselves into colleges, the large urban universities, and junior colleges. Especially welcome are the author's extended descriptions of DePauw, Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts at Amherst), and the components of what is now Case-Western Reserve which accompany the discussions of the more-often studied Harvard, Dartmouth, Madison, Urbana, Berkeley, Chapel Hill, Yale, and Stanford.

Levine is intent on explaining two aspects of the development of higher education since World War I: the rapid growth in enrollment due to a widening belief that collegiate experience was a key to social mobility and the way in which higher education reacted to this surge in enrollment by ranking institutions and manipulating admissions so as to channel and stratify students

according to background and expected level of success. He asks two absolutely essential questions: "In a nation that heralds the self-made man of action and disdains the man of reflection, when and why did colleges and universities become arbiters of economic and social mobility? In a land of individual opportunity, how can one account for a hierarchical cultural institution?" (p. 7) His work is better at describing how higher education assumed, even seized, these stratification functions than it is at explaining how it came to be that so many Americans were so eager, after 1915, to put their futures in the college's hands.

Let us look first at Levine's portrayal of the complex process by which collegiate institutions evolved into arbiters of mobility. Individual schools, of course, continued their practice of differentiating among enrolled students through grades, honors, and recommendations. More important, a few private institutions began to differentiate among applicants, selecting from among approximately equally meritorious (academically) candidates some to receive the privilege of admission. Such selectivity earned these colleges the top spots in an emerging hierarchy within the private sector that ranged from the highly selective Yale's and Dartmouth's through small, rural liberal arts colleges, to the large, private, urban—often Catholic—universities open to all comers. Even more significant, in Levine's view, publicly supported colleges began to arrange themselves in an in-state hierarchy ranging from the state's prestigious university through the normal schools/state colleges, to the junior colleges. Within each state the university strove to limit enrollment to reasonably well-prepared high school graduates, who whether by chance or design, came mostly from the middle and upper classes. The normal schools capitalized on the university's elitist desires by amplifying their teacher training curriculum into a full-fledged collegiate one. They claimed, as a consequence, full collegiate status and emerged in the 20s and 30s as state colleges attractive to a somewhat less well-prepared, and, it turned out, less economically well-to-do, group of high school graduates. The public junior colleges constituted the fastest growing segment of higher education during this period, enrolling less than 2 percent of the collegiate population in 1918 but almost 18 per cent by 1938. These institutions got underway in the late teens and early 20s as a means whereby students living in areas geographically remote from a state college or university could complete the first two years of the college course without having to bear the cost of living away from home. The presumption was that most of these students would move on to the senior colleges for the bachelors degree. Yet, by 1940 the junior college offered, according to Levine, a largely terminal preparation for "semi-professional" occupations for "young people of limited means and allegedly limited abilities and aspirations." (p. 174)

Higher education leaders felt it necessary both to encourage expansion through advertising the social and individual advantages of additional schooling and to combat expansion's implications by devising increasingly well-defined tracks to limit the aspirations of the additional enrollees. They sought to generate additional support (and enrollment) by arguing for the democratic necessity of additional opportunities for young people. And during the Depression higher education claimed responsibility for keeping young people off the labor market beyond the high school years. At the same time they felt that those they had just recruited had to be guided into the proper niche in the higher education system. Presidents argued simultaneously for opening their doors to all and for establishing a hierarchy of institutions in each state to keep undesirable students out of their prestigious schools. Speaking from his perch at Harvard, President A. Lawrence Lowell could simply exclude the junior college from higher education's pantheon: "One of the merits of these new institutions will be [the] keeping out of college, rather than leading into it, [of] young people who have no taste for higher education." (p. 178) More circumspect, public educators played down their rhetoric about higher education's responsibility for producing leaders and endorsed instead what Lotus Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota, called "education for intelligent followership." (p. 165) The president of the California system claimed that "the university is primarily designed for one type of mind and the junior college for another." (p. 172)

Levine has made an important contribution to our understanding of the inception of the highly differentiated systems of higher education with which we are all familiar. His interpretive framework is less satisfying. In his overview of a large subject, Levine does not fully explore the apparently mixed motives among higher education's leadership. To what extent did the typical leader share these conflicting motives within him/herself? Or did different views on stratification within higher education accord with differing ideological positions among the leaders? There is no discussion of how financial and political constraints—enrollment-driven appropriations or needs for the working class vote—influenced the leaders' views. Nor does Levine explore, beyond student attendance records, the scope and level of public demand for more higher education. To what social imperatives, how expressed and by whom, was higher education responding?

Levine is least persuasive in his choosing to place at the center of his volume and of his interpretation the selective private colleges' ugly practice of discriminating against Jewish candidates for admission. He assumes that the motives behind that deliberate and conspiratorial practice explain what was

happening more generally in higher education. Public leaders used hierarchically defined institutions to exclude the poor from the elite public schools just as admissions officers employed pictures, religious preference, and out-of-state residence to keep Jews from attending selective colleges. Levine supplements the findings of Harold Wechsler and Marcia Synnott by presenting a great deal of further damning documentation of these exclusionary practices at Dartmouth. Although he shows that similar exclusionary efforts kept the number of black students in predominantly white colleges level throughout the period, his assumption that higher educators' behavior in these two instances explains their general motivation in this era is not convincing.

Levine's later chapters suggest that we might best understand the emergence of differential tracking in higher education in terms of a conspiracy, a deliberate suppressing of the ambitions of the less fortunate:

> The transmission of knowledge—as well as the aspirations and abilities of the affected students—took a back seat to the so-called public interest. The junior college movement, then, constituted a critical stage in the dramatic explosion of educational opportunities. It resulted in the rapid and broad diffusion of higher education. At the same time, however, an increased emphasis on terminal junior college education between the two world wars circumscribed the education and training of students. Students were there to start college; educators thought they should be there to start and finish postsecondary education. (pp. 183-184)

This argument is quite reminiscent of revisionist interpretations of industrial and vocational education's introduction into the American high school after 1900. Like those interpretations, Levine's should be seen as suggestive, not final and should lead historians to explore much more fully than has been done to date the composition of higher education student bodies in these various levels of institution, the students' and parents' intentions in participating in higher education, and the students' "success" after leaving school. Just how great was the mismatch between student aspirations and the kinds of institutions available to them? Could the differentiated system in fact have been responsive to student aspirations rather than undermining them? Levine's overview has established a significant research agenda for higher education history in the years to come.

On the other large question underlying this study—why the culture of aspiration turned to higher education as the preferred means of fulfillment—Levine's explanations are tantalizing but not definitive. What turned an enterprise in which even the most elite schools had to scramble for students before

World War I (Yale did not feel safe in raising tuition for nearly 30 years) into such an attractive institution in the decades following? "Economic and social pressures" stimulated growth to the point, Levine argues, that "American schools of higher education moved into the mainstream of American economic, social, and cultural life." (p. 17) Higher education took advantage of the "needs of the rapidly growing professional and service-oriented sectors for training and legitimacy" and "catered to the desire for status of an emerging white-collar, consumption-oriented middle class." "The campus became a center for the ethos" of that class. (p. 19) Parents' and youngsters' concern for vocational preparation and for maintaining class position and educators' interests in catering to those concerns contributed to increasing enrollment. But it is very difficult from Levine's study to put these three impulses into any causal order, to identify those specific developments which got the spiraling, self-reinforcing process underway.

Clearly a new relation between employment and higher education was emerging after 1920. Levine explains that whereas before World War I the "learned" professions had allied with the colleges in providing training and controlling entrance, the period immediately following the War saw a similar alliance between industry and higher education which, because business provided so many white-collar employment opportunities, had an enormous impact on enrollment. Just how or why this alliance occurred is not clear. Professions like medicine and engineering relied on the university for information and research; Levine offers little evidence that business depended on higher education in any similar way. The alliance seems to have been restricted to business' expectation that colleges would provide managerial and technical preparation. Just what that preparation was to entail is also not entirely clear: what managerial skills did colleges impart that the young person could not have acquired in high school or on the job? Levine demonstrates that college after college introduced business programs and coursework to attract students; this assumption that college education should prepare for business careers drove curriculum development.

The fascinating question raised by Levine's work is whether changing demands in the industrial workplace stimulated college attendance or whether enrollments rose for other reasons but, in doing so, required businesses to change in order to accommodate more highly educated managers. Levine's is not a book about labor markets or about the sociology of work; it does demonstrate, however, the need for historians of higher education to look far more closely at the careers college graduates were heading toward in order to understand more fully this tremendous surge of interest in college attendance.

The question is further complicated by students' behavior on campus. Levine confirms the stereotype of students' lack of seriousness that we associate with flappers, goldfish swallowing, and fraternity high jinks. He argues that vocational concerns account for increased attendance, but the students he describes display little seriousness or vocational focus. As Levine recognizes, "This was an age in which the transmission and creation of new knowledge was seen increasingly as critical to cultural development and economic growth. Yet the American middle class stubbornly insisted on viewing college as a social opportunity rather than an intellectual experience." (p. 119) At times Levine suggests that social motives may have played a larger role than vocational ones in expanding enrollment. He confirms that higher education became an increasingly important way for high status parents to pass their privilege on to their children, implying that business initiatives may not have been so important after all. "Upper-middle-class parents generally shared businessmen's attitudes toward higher education. They sent their children to college because it was the thing to do, even if they were dubious about its value. Once these children, the young people considered most suitable for business positions, went to college, it followed that businessmen would recruit their future employees there." (p. 56) Somehow the "thing to do" was to acquire social skills and attitudes at college. What we would like to know is why such skills and attitudes acquired so much more importance as a goal for young people and their parents after 1920 and in what ways the growth of white collar employment and the middle class ethos increased the value of those skills. There is something of a chicken and egg problem here, of course, but we would be immensely indebted to the historian who can disentangle the causal directions so that we can better understand the rationale behind individual decisions both to attend college and to avoid serious engagement with its curriculum.

Similarly, such disentanglement of causality would help us understand better educators' striving to build a more attractive and "practical" curriculum. "With only a few exceptions, practical and pecuniary considerations emerged triumphant in higher education, as elsewhere in American life. Faced with choices, then, most institutions chose to be responsive and sympathetic to modern economic and social pressures rather than to an academic ideal." (p. 90) Levine describes college educators radically altering their schools' curricular focus in order to "respond" to unclear demands from employers and students. Yet both employers and future employees virtually ignored these curricular changes once they were in place. This minimal response raises significant questions about the salience of changes in business' employment needs as an explanation of either curriculum change or enrollment gains.

II

Roger Geiger's *To Advance Knowledge* is an absolutely superb study. He has chosen to follow in detail the developments in sixteen leading research universities from 1900 to 1940, claiming that the sixteen evolved into the organizing model for virtually all university-based research in this country. The sixteen comprise California, Caltech, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Johns Hopkins, MIT, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Wisconsin, and Yale. His study is strictly limited to research and graduate training, except for brief explorations of how undergraduate enrollment trends affected financing of research and how undergraduate teaching loads were reduced and admissions requirements raised to make teaching in a research university more attractive to top scientists. Geiger has gathered a mass of information about the behavior of these sixteen institutions: their finances, their governance, their pursuit of outside dollars, their conditions of employment. His focus is generally on the natural sciences (including medicine and engineering) with some attention to the social sciences. He does not consider the efforts of the humanities or other professions to emulate the research ideal.

The study's underlying concern is the evolution of administrative and especially financial support for university research. Before World War I universities counted largely on individual donors and tuition for research support. In the 20s and 30s they relied increasingly on the great private foundations—especially the various Rockefeller entities. Only with the Second World War did the massive dependence on federal support begin. These changes in the sources and forms of support coincide with the development of coherent management of university research. In the early years of the century support was rather haphazard, ad hoc, and inchoate—depending on the fancy of individual donors and the accidents of enrollment. Only with the First World War did there develop a system of privately constituted elites—the National Research Council, the foundation boards, the leadership of the disciplinary organizations—capable of directing research support toward what they and Geiger like to call "best" science. The foundations insured steadier support and distributed it to the best researchers without considering regional balance, institutional loyalty, or congruence of interest and personality between researcher and donor. Geiger suggests that the federal government did not step in to relieve the straitened circumstances of universities and foundations during the Depression because researchers feared that the government would neglect the "best" science in favor of distributing funds according to political and regional considerations. Federal support in the 40s and 50s did not undermine the "best" science

approach, Geiger argues, because the government decided to incorporate the essence of the private network into the National Science Foundation and because a resurgence of support from individuals and foundations made possible by post-war economic growth gave a pluralistic configuration to research support that diluted federal influence.

The great foundations play the most crucial role in Geiger's story; anyone interested in these agencies' exercise of "private power for the public good" should study this book. The bulk of American scientific research remained in the universities only because the foundations backed away from the plans they initially made to fund separate research institutions such as the Carnegie Institution and the National Bureau of Economic Research. Foundations decided early in the 20s on a policy of "concentration"—their limited funds could best advance the public welfare by being focused on the relative handful of universities the foundations deemed capable of producing new knowledge efficiently. The effect of this determination that the best should get better and the rich, richer was to strengthen the hegemony of the major research universities. During the 20s and early 30s the foundations distributed large sums for individual universities to allocate among research functions. During the 30s the foundations reversed this strategy and decided to fund specific research projects at universities, thus effectively reclaiming control over the spending of their money. That change in foundation strategy made the search for general support from the federal government inevitable.

The book is full of fascinating detail about funding strategies, the role of alumni, formalized university fund-raising, and the relation between enrollment and university ability to support research. Some additional exploration of this last issue would have been useful. One is struck, for example, in reading that even though the size of the faculty at research universities grew at an even faster rate percentage-wise than did undergraduate enrollments early in the century, those universities had more money to invest in research. In several places Geiger's evidence implies that increased undergraduate enrollment freed more money for research. We do not learn, however, what economies of scale enabled research to profit from undergraduate tuition dollars that are insufficient, universities have always claimed, to cover the cost of providing that undergraduate education. Geiger finds value in the students that Levine describes as flooding into the universities after 1920 but ignoring the curriculum in favor of fraternities and football. They brought revenue needed for research support by paying tuition and by adhering to the collegiate ideal so forcefully as to attract alumni money. In another section he describes the function of the teaching assistant—"one has to wonder," he writes, "why graduate assistantships did not

appear sooner" (p. 76)—in relieving research professors of introductory teaching; perhaps they held the key to the profitability of undergraduate enrollment. Although much about the economics of research support is made clear in this study, there is much more to learn about who pays for academic research—a subject of some interest given the current fears that high tuition rates may be driving minority and lower- and middle-class students from college.

Overall Geiger's is a very positive description of the triumph of the research university. As is evident in his other published studies, Geiger is very interested in comparing the development of scientific research from country to country. He regards the American arrangement as key to its outstripping of other countries' scientific efforts. That the United States' scientific research system is university-based and is characterized by pluralistic sources of support, healthy inter-institutional competition, control vested largely in the hands of scientists themselves, and relative openness to new people and ideas accounts for much of this country's world leadership in science (a leadership well established before the Nazis forced eminent scientists to migrate here). In choosing this emphasis Geiger has made his book more a description of the rise of academic science than of the American university as a whole. About the former subject, there is much to be positive; about the latter, the events he describes are more troubling.

Geiger's decision to focus on science as the heart and model of the research university is both the book's strength and its weakness. Scientific research clearly was the most expensive, the most highly organized, and most salient aspect of university research. But its very success suggests that the equation of scientific research and the research university may not be fruitful as a strategy for understanding the overall development of such universities. Science, as Geiger characterizes it, is guided by "cognitive rationality—knowing through the exercise of reason." By 1900 cognitive rationality "was firmly in place as the dominant value, determining more than any other single factor the organization and operation of the research universities. It achieved this position largely because, where accepted criteria of judgment exist, better knowledge will tend to displace inferior knowledge." (p. 9) Such a conception surely works in most areas of science; World War I demonstrated that academic science readily led to useful applications, that reason produced results clearly capable of being judged "better" or "inferior." However, Geiger implies that cognitive rationality works just as well in the other domains of academic knowledge, that analagous strategies and results can be expected in the social sciences and the humanities. His own descriptions of the foundations' difficulties in funding social science research that would solve crucial human problems suggests the problem. All through the 20s and 30s various foundations sought to further academic knowl-

edge that would solve problems of juvenile delinquency or poverty or what have you. But the process that seemed naturally to occur in the natural sciences, where clear criteria for identifying a good idea moved that idea to the fore where it got applied to real problems, did not happen in social science. There, the absence of such criteria meant that getting ideas applied required advocacy, a commitment to social action quite different from university researchers' interests in solving disciplinary and methodological puzzles. Geiger accepts, in the case of social science, that the relation between outside funders and university researchers contained a fundamental tension but argues that it nevertheless remained a strong relation. Other commentators might find themselves less sanguine.

It is interesting to compare Geiger and Levine on the question of selective admissions. Where Levine sees the discriminatory practices as a permanent blot on the university record and as illustrative of higher education's stratification function, Geiger regards them as temporary and even in the worst of times balanced by scientific faculty's desire to promote intellectual meritocracy. Although in the early years selective admissions' tilt toward social criteria for admissions served to boost the anti-intellectual biases of the collegiate ideal, that policy eventually proved advantageous for the research university because it produced fewer and better students for research faculty to teach. Some sense of Geiger's upbeat view of selectivity can be gained from the following:

> The pluralism of admissions criteria has been at the same time one of the strengths of the American system and also its Achilles' heel. By avoiding a single, decisive entrance examination, the United States has been spared the emergence of an extensive and minimally productive cram-school industry, such as exists in France and Japan. On the other hand, the subjective balancing of many incommensurate criteria has produced a changing, but inescapable, "tilt" in the admissions process. Despite the growing emphasis over time on meritocratic criteria, these tilts have continued to reflect the relative status of groups in American society. Although conflicts have flared over just these issues, they have been mitigated by the decreasing importance of undergraduate admissions. In contrast to the situation in the 1920s, the most significant and most direct rewards available through higher education are now bestowed as graduate-level credentials. (p. 138)

According to Geiger, the rise of academic science has created a growing gap between research and undergraduate teaching in the research university. For one like myself who has always been somewhat suspicious of the easy assurances given by university leaders that research and teaching are fundamentally compatible and that undergraduates benefit greatly from studying in universities that support vast research establishments, there is a refreshing frankness in Geiger's descriptions of the strategies that universities and foundations used to exempt researchers from as much responsibility as possible for dealing with undergraduates. Geiger seems to imply that the research university's development depended on this divergence, on the decision to make research the pre-eminent thrust and undergraduate teaching a decidedly subordinate one. But his descriptions also point to the dangers in that attitude given the research universities' evident dependence on undergraduate tuition and undergraduate alumni revenue to support research. The more fundamental ethical contradiction of exempting university teachers from leading undergraduates in the process of inquiry in the name of "advancing knowledge" needs no further explication.

III

Ellen Schrecker has given us a long and very moving account of the impact of McCarthyism on the employment status and thus lives of academics who, when identified as communist or sympathetic to communism by one or another investigating committee, could or would not clear themselves. She describes McCarthyism as a two-stage process—the government first identified potential subversives and then employers imposed economic sanctions on those so identified. Her concern is mostly with the second stage—with higher education's penalizing those whose political and social views were identified as dangerous by powerful forces outside the academy. Her story begins with a description of academic communism in the 1930s and the attempts—largely ineffective—to suppress it. She then follows with detailed case studies of dismissals, attempted dismissals, or loyalty oath controversies at Washington, Ohio State, Rutgers, Michigan, MIT, Harvard, Temple, Cornell, Reed, City College, Brooklyn College, and Berkeley.

Schrecker's study is marked throughout by careful and thorough research and contains a wealth of new information about this painful period in higher education's history. Because institutions of higher education invoked employment sanctions only after extended on-campus hearings, they produced a voluminous record of transcripts and reports which Schrecker has used

extensively throughout her study. Even more striking is her incorporation of material from more than one hundred interviews that she conducted between 1976 and 1983 with participants in these controversies. These interviews provide great insight and lend considerable pathos to the story. Nothing quite brings home the horror of those years as reading about the costs, in terms of truncated careers and ruined home lives, of deciding not to testify against one's friends and colleagues.

Schrecker is intent on describing and explaining the alacrity with which higher education entered into the spirit of the McCarthyite process of ridding the nation of subversives, especially how higher education employed the concept of academic freedom as a justification for doing so. In brief, she holds that the academic establishment—administrators of course, but most notably the vast majority of articulate faculty members—argued, following Sidney Hook, that universities could maintain their position as relatively independent liberal critics of American society only by taking responsibility themselves for patrolling their campuses and eliminating Communists and other subversives. Essentially Hook and his followers held that universities should house only those social critics who abided by rules requiring that they refrain from seeking to indoctrinate students with their views, that they take no action explicitly designed to aid a government hostile to the United States, and that they be open about their political views and engage in open debate with colleagues who differed from them. The consensus on the campuses was that communists had not and would not play by the rules. Schrecker could find no indication in the thousands of pages of testimony before government and campus investigating committees that a suspected academic communist was ever successfully accused of having indoctrinated students or plotted the overthrow of the government or spied for the Soviet Union. The academy's indictment of campus communists finally rested on the "conspiratorial," secret nature of their activities. Membership was secret, communist publications attacking liberal views were often anonymous—the communists were simply not playing the game. The fact that going public would often have cost the academic communists their jobs did not deter the liberals. Although the fear of sanctions impelled the communists to secrecy, that very secrecy warranted the practice of using sanctions against them.

This reasoning allowed faculty members and administators to convert "academic freedom" from a device for defending the individual's right of dissent to one for justifying the academy's right to define which kinds of dissent were legitimate. Such definition took place in campus hearings where faculty committees demanded that colleagues who had run afoul of a governmental investigation reveal their political beliefs. These committees believed that it was all right

for a faculty member to refuse to tell a government body about political beliefs but that it was intolerable for that same person to refuse to share that information with his colleagues. In effect, faculties were willing, in reaction to the McCarthy hysteria, to impose a political test on themselves—that test being that no one was fit to be a faculty member who was not willing to disclose his or her political beliefs to his or her colleagues and to disavow membership in any secret politcal organization. Only Reed College's faculty investigating committee maintained the traditional notion of academic freedom by refusing to ask philosopher Stanley Moore to disclose his political beliefs after Moore had invoked the Fifth Amendment before HUAC in 1954. No other institution, according to Schrecker's research, made any such refusal. Those suspected communists who opposed the internal investigating committees only confirmed to their colleagues their unsuitability as faculty members. Schrecker summarizes:

> Most of the professors who cooperated with committees and preserved their universities' reputations by naming names and avoiding publicity had no professional problems. Those professors who cooperated part of the way with the committees and, thus, could convince all but the most irrational anti-Communists that they were no longer in the Party usually managed to keep their jobs. Professors who refused to cooperate with the committees but did cooperate with their colleagues—and this seems to have been the largest group—sometimes kept their jobs, if they had tenure and taught at private colleges or universities, and sometimes lost them, especially if they were at public institutions. Professors who refused to cooperate with both the congressional and the academic investigations were almost always fired. What stands out is the overwhelming consensus within the academic establishment that it had to respond to the congressional hearings. . . . Few seemed to notice that by putting the jobs of unfriendly witnesses in question, America's colleges and universities had given Joseph McCarthy and the members of HUAC a say over selecting their faculties. (p. 218)

Schrecker believes that many of the inquisitors understood how they were violating their colleagues' academic freedom, "but, as is always the case when the rights of individuals are shunted aside, there were other, allegedly more important, issues at stake." (p. 240) In this case, the more important issue was

the independence of the academy. To maintain that independence, the academy had, it was thought, to be more vigilant even than the government in ridding subversives from the campus. To preserve its independence, the academy had to sacrifice some (most?) of that independence. An age-old dilemma, especially acute perhaps for those in the knowledge business charged both with serving and with criticizing those in power.

As valuable as is the long view that Schrecker and her interviewees take in examining and reflecting on this terrible period, that sense of distance means that something vital is also lost. In part because she wishes to demonstrate the unwonted hysteria of the period, Schrecker is intent on establishing that the few communists on campus presented no threat and were therefore not worth getting excited about. Her interviewees, looking back 20 to 25 years after the purges and perhaps as many as 40 years after their own participation in the radicalism of the 1930s, tend to treat their radicalism somewhat less seriously than they undoubtedly did at the time. Those academics who opposed communists on campus are depicted as shrewdly calculating in their manipulation of academic freedom in the interests of "corporate protection." (p. 23) Schrecker's account fails, in the end, to capture the passion that motivated all sides in this fight. However much we now know that communists constituted little threat and however much we may have become skeptical about radical social change, that "wisdom" was not available to the participants. They were not just debating about the survival of individual jobs or about the preservation of the academy's corporate independence. They were fighting over visions of a good society and of the proper role of the academic. Schrecker's work provides considerable insight into the victims' emotional dilemmas; we need another study, relying on interviews with those on the other side of the battle, to describe the full range of motives directing the actions of those liberal faculty members struggling to be fair both to their institutions and to their embattled colleagues.

Schrecker is disturbed, as her title indicates, by "the extraordinary facility with which the academic establishment accommodated itself to the demands of the state" in choosing to do the state's work by dismissing those the state identifed as undesirable. "In another era, perhaps, the academy might not have cooperated so readily, but the 1950s was the period when the nation's colleges and universities were becoming increasingly dependent upon and responsive toward the federal government .... collaboration with McCarthyism was .... in many respects, just another step in the integration of American higher education into the Cold War political system." (p. 340) Levine's and Geiger's studies of the increasingly important social and economic functions of higher education in the United States since 1915 indicate that academic cooperation with the state was far from being an exclusively Cold War phenomenon. Such cooperation is, we

learn from all these volumes, at the very heart of the extraordinary and growing strength and power of higher education in this century.

IV

All three authors indicate a degree of regret that the academy has gained such power only at the cost of neglecting or turning its back on certain earlier values. Levine describes higher education curriculum builders turning away from "an academic ideal" in choosing to offer programs responsive to student desires for business and semi-professional preparation. (p. 90) Geiger shares some of George W. Pierson's wonder and unease at how rapidly and enthusiastically American colleges got absorbed in supporting the Great War—"institutions that had consistently vowed their dedication to intellectual freedom and the pursuit of truth for their faculties, or to the cultivation of critical intelligence and the development of moral character in their students, allowed these values to be eclipsed with scarcely a word or protest." (p. 101) And Schrecker, of course, records the eclipse of the "ivory tower." In this regard, these volumes echo recurrent themes in our own day's criticisms of higher education: in trying to serve all of society's needs, the university has failed to hold on to the purpose for which it is ideally suited and has, thus, lost its own soul.

Are these plaints mere rhetoric—a plea for a "golden age" somewhere in the past when moral dilemmas had not yet occurred, when goals were clear, when the need for money and power had not yet developed? What's interesting about these references to an ideal away from which higher education has been falling since at least 1915 is the difficulty in locating a period in the history of American higher education when colleges worked in the pristine isolation from the real world that the ideal implies. In many ways this "academic ideal" appears to function as a ritualistic expression of guilt that academics are interested in the applied as well as the theoretical, share society's concerns and prejudices more often than not, and resemble other humans in desiring reputation and material reward. Perhaps also the vision of an ideal from which the modern university has strayed provides a common characteristic which historians can use to impose a sense of unity on the very diverse higher education enterprise. Research universities, junior colleges, and business schools fit together because they have all lapsed from the same doctrine. But these volumes suggest that it is time to discard an ideal that holds that the university is only true to itself when it exists in pristine isolation and engages in disinterested inquiry. As these three volumes make so abundantly clear, higher education and society are inextricably linked

because knowledge and power are linked. Explaining the development of higher education as a falling away from an ideal that denies or seeks to ignore that linkage is unlikely to be fruitful. Instead historians need to define a more accurate ideal against which they can measure higher education practice, one that accounts for the interdependence of higher education and society.

Social Science and the Social Functions of Ideas: A Review Essay

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Edward Silva and Sheila Slaughter. *Serving Power: The Making of the American Social Science Expert,* Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1984.

John M. O'Donnell. *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1876-1920.* New York: New York University Press, 1985.

Clarence Karier. *Scientists of the Mind: Intellectual Founders of Modern Psychology.* Champaign, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Howard Brick. *Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism.* Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.

Terry Cooney. *The Rise of the New York Intellectual.* Madison Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.

THOSE OF US WHO WORK IN A UNIVERSITY often maintain certain illusions. The folklore is that our endeavors are disinterested, our knowledge is superior, and our work place, the university, is one of continuous service and enlightenment. The illusions are maintained through a literature that portrays an altruistic scientist working towards the advancement of knowledge. The rituals of language make it seem as if the scientist is nonobtrusive and that the only values are those conveyed in the procedures of research. The public presentation of scientists is that of professionals; with facts as facts, and, like the television news, stories of our natural and social world told only as they are.

A number of recent books have explored the professionalization of knowledge and the role of the intellectual in contemporary industrial societies. They consider the social sciences as social inventions, historically defined in relation to particular social interests. While the story told here has a uniquely U.S. flavor, the international dominance of United States social science after World War II has made this history important to industrial and third world nations.

The Concern for Stability and Social Order and the Development of the Social Sciences

The development of United States social science occurred during a period after the Civil War. The period reflected drastic changes in the material conditions as technological innovation in industry, agriculture and transportation altered patterns of interdependence. One's immediate community became less related to face-to-face interactions and more dependent upon production occurring in other places. Work conditions, as well, involved drastic changes as labor moved outside the home and a redefinition of the family occurred.[1]

Related to the social, cultural and economic transformations was a crisis in the exercise of social authority and power. The literature and art of the times illustrated a conflict between the older rural, Protestant images of a democratic society and the new metaphors of industrialization.[2] John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall, and Mark Twain, among others, can be read as expressions of the tensions produced by industrialization. Demographic changes produced a different set of tensions. Immigration brought non-English speaking people from Eastern and Southern Europe, whose religious background Eastern elites feared would undermine dominant values, and whose acquaintance with European socialist and radical political theories might challenge the existing harmony and stability.

While artists, writers, and philosophers felt the tensions, professional associations of social scientists emerged to provide direction for social amelioration. Drawing upon scholarship developed in Europe, but transforming it into a uniquely United States discourse, the social sciences formed a link between science, business, and Protestant theology.[3] The theories and strategies for reform made the social conditions seem part of an evolutionary process in which a new millennial world would be achieved.[4] The social sciences also provided a way to deal with the theological implications of Darwin's material view of evolution. The psychologies and sociologies, for many, became a new philosophy that would explain the relation of mind and body.[5]

The development of social science was plausible in relation to a shift in the cultural meaning of individual achievement and success among segments of the middle and upper classes.[6] Development of "self" and notions of participation previously tied to a personal efforts (the "rugged" individual) were given a different expression in the newly formed professional communities. Personal development became tied to "communities of the competent" in which abstract social relations and the development of occupational "careers" defined individual success.

The complex social, political, religious and economic conditions provided an horizon for the creation of the first United States organization of "social

scientists."[7] The American Social Science Association was created in Boston in 1865 to deal with issues of social welfare. The Association was comprised of people from the socioeconomic elite of Boston who worked in occupations such as journalism, philanthropy, and zoology. These people were interested primarily in speculation and used little empiricism. The common interest was to offer advice about social welfare to the Boston Charities Board and to guide social amelioration in a period of rapid governmental expansion. The American Social Science Association created a journal, held meetings to clarify issues of the day and to agitate for policy directions. In their provocative book, *Serving Power: The Making of the American Social-Science Expert*, Edward Silva and Sheila Slaughter summarize the Association's role in state service.

> First, leaders were public administrators, creating and heading up new state agencies, casting as best they could the future direction of state action as well as establishing the state as a primary service area for later experts. Second, they supplied language and labor for the civil service reform movement, creating and institutionalizing the ideology of the nonpartisan, and thus disinterested, expert as the ideal servant of society's collective interests. This ideology masked the expert's service to society's elite sectors.[8]

Silva and Slaughter draw upon the history of the professional associations to explore the role of the new social scientists as they became part of the new structure of the university during the Progressive Era. The earlier social scientists of the American Social Science Assocation were superceded by people trained in European methods of empiricism and German historicism. The later group of social scientists received academic positions, gained access to resources of an expanding state and were able to develop institutional support for the associations that gave credibility to their disciplines.

While there was debate about how social science would serve all people, the outcome of the struggle was related to a larger social transformation in which the ideal of expert knowledge and efficiency dominated. The formation of social science was an element in a more general dynamic of state expansion and a reforming of governmental agencies, such as in social welfare, schooling and economic regulation. As part of the Progressive Era reforms organizations (1880-1920), social scientists promoted criteria of efficiency and administration as social reform. When social scientists worked with groups excluded from power, such as immigrant groups, working class organizations and minority

racial groups, the dominating task was to direct social affairs in a way that did not disrupt dominant values.

The merging of social science interests with the Progressive reforms involved a structure of consciousness that combined Protestant theological notions with business views of rationality, reformulating the vision as sciences of social policy and social amelioration. The reforms pervaded not only the civic arenas but the definitions of private space; views of family, childhood and gender. Ideas about scientific child rearing, nutrition, and domestic economy were to guide parent and child relations and the organization of the home. The intrusion of public and private space was made plausible by a belief that the proposed reform were based upon objective, scientific interpretations rather than a particular social interpretation.

Essential to the new ideology of social control was the belief that professions were altruistic, providing a disinterested public service. By joining with political leaders and the civic reform movement, the new social scientists established a notion of expertise in the widest public service. The formation of The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society and the American Psychological Association involved a continual reworking of democratic service ideals of social improvement into professional obligations to provide experts knowledge to guide existing institutions.[9] The new social sciences helped to plan the economy, agriculture, immigration, and civil service. The theories and empirical investigations offered sound opinion and strategies to maintain harmony and stability among different strata in society. The empiricism and utilitarian outlook responded to the new role of knowledge in serving power.

Silva and Slaughter interrelate the shaping of the social science communities with the ideology of expertism, the new functions of the American university in the management of society, the role of philanthropy in establishing social direction, and the history of the development of academic freedom to obtain job security through tenure. The history of tenure as a trade off to academic freedom is important for understanding the cultural location of modern academic intellectuals and the academic purges of the McCarthy era. The role of philanthropy provides an important consideration of the mediation of social, economic and cultural interests in public institutions in ways other than through direct state intervention.

Silva and Slaughter argue that one function of the turn of the century civil service reforms was to attack organizational forms that an industrial worker might use for power. The elimination of ward politics and the development of efficient government created mechanisms in which civil administrators could

act independently from the pressures of the local constituencies. This legacy was apparent into the 1970s when political scientists compared the ward politics of Chicago to the progressive governmental organization of New York City. Chicago was more responsive in providing public services to minorities and ethnic groups through its ward arrangement.

The history of the professionalization of social knowledge provides a point of entrance to current social reforms in which ideological notions of the professions are made into service ideals for their occupations. The functional nature of knowledge, the disinterested quality of social science, and the ideology of a general public served by our university structures are paramount in education. The Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy and the Holmes report on Teacher Education calls for reform uncritically accept the late 19th century ideology of professions.[10]

While I found the Silva and Slaughter book one of the most important books that I have read in recent years, I also found that I wanted more theory and extensions of the stories. For example, the later years of the period examined contained radical debate in art, literature, philosophy and social science about the relation of economy, society and individual. The New York Intellectual Circle began to form by the end of the Progressive period. How did the "marginal" intellectual interrelate with institutionally accepted practice? How were silences created through disciplinary organization and gate keeping? What communities of intellectuals articulated oppositional and alternative traditions? The relational quality of different intellectual spheres is important to our understanding of the social functions of the intellectual.

Silva and Slaughter only partially satisfy our understanding of the relation of traditions and opposition. Correctly, I think, the authors reject the "closure" model of professionalization that dominates so much of the literature in the United States. The model suggests that professionals develop control over their domains through specialized knowledge, entrance standards and education. In the case of social science, the closure model provides an argument that professionalization is fostered by growth of subcultures. As the story of "closure" goes, control occurs through the elaboration of new methods by which social scientists gain exclusive rights to knowledge. Silva and Slaughter argue, in contrast, for an exchange theory in which issues of power and resource exchange become major foci in understanding professions. The occupations of new social scientists involved an industrialization that required massive amounts of material resources (libraries, graduate schools, journals) and were made dependent upon university managers for the means of knowledge production. In reading the analysis, however, I was not sure what structures underlay the distribution of

resources. That is, what elements in the study of power receive priority in the exchanges?

The Science of the Social Adjustment of Individuals: United States Psychology

The social functions of academic social scientists in the formation of United States institutions is given further attention in the history of psychology. While sociologists and cultural historians emphasize the importance of psychology in our contemporary affairs, the history of American psychology is often recited without considering its institutional assumptions. It becomes a chronology, emerging from developments in German psychology and the experimental laboratory tradition of Wundt in Leipzig. But as two recent books forcefully argue, U.S. psychology renounced the larger interests in mind that was the focus of Wundt and developed more narrow disciplinary interests of studying personal capabilities to organize the successful adjustment of the individual to the environment. John M. O'Donnell's *The Origins of Behaviorism* is a major study of the dynamics involved in the formation of psychology and the role of psychologists in the development of U.S. institutions, such as schooling. Clarence Karier's *The Scientists of the Mind,* a less ambitious study, focuses upon the lives of significant people in the development of psychology to understand the interplay of religious and personal motives in the struggle to create secular institutions.

The emergence of a scientific psychology should be considered not only as a continuation of 19th century trends in which a great expansion of knowledge produced specialized occupations. While one can point to biblical texts, Greek tragedies or the work of Shakespeare to indicate the reflective quality of people throughout history, a scientific estate associated with the study of the mind was an invention of the 19th century.

Particular institutional and social imperatives made the new discipline a plausible mechanism for dealing with strains and tensions in the larger society by the late 19th century and early 20th century. Psychology was the first discipline to develop solely within the university and given departmental stature by college presidents. While initially a subdiscipline of philosophy, the incorporation of experimental methods, genetic metaphors of growth and physiological arguments linked psychology to biology and social sciences. The appeal of psychology, however, was not only its association with the scientific estate. The theology of the social gospel movement and the social policies of civil reform became embedded in the social and psychological theories of the times.

Psychology offered particular interpretations and direction for social control that were becoming valued in the university. It responded to a function of American universities to mediate between science and religion. The 19th century private liberal arts colleges were creations of religious orders and, while developing profound secular interests, had to maintain sensitivity to their religious origins and sponsors. American Protestant Scholasticism had the task of joining the moral and natural universes by maintaining the legitimacy of the epistemological dualism of sense and intellect considered essential to the belief in God, to bring arguments of "an ordered society and in the evidence of a theologically serviceable natural science."[11]

Psychology assumed the role of its parent discipline philosophy to reconcile faith and reason, Christian belief and Enlightenment empiricism. Psychology was to respond for religion to the challenges of evolutionary theory; "to offer convincing proof for the evolution of consciousness in order to extricate the mind from the implications of mechanistic determinism and to allow ethics to be rewritten in evolutionary style."[12]

Some of the early psychologists saw their role as moral philosophers, arguing that scientific rather than theological training should be the chief criterion of an academic discipline. Psychology was to be the arbiter of the Bible. G. Stanley Hall sought to soften the edge of biological science as it cut into Christian culture. He stated that "the Bible is being solely re-evaluated as man's great text-book in psychology."[13] Its evidence would legitimate the mind as separate from the body. It would also offer empirical information about the evolution of the mind.

A different motif in the development of psychology was the dissemination and advancement of a practical knowledge in an emerging industrial nation. There was a widespread faith in the social restructuring of society through science. Science was seen as the mainspring of inevitable progress and could help men remake their world. The leaders of psychology made the platform of the discipline to being about a new millenium. Psychology could be enlisted in solving the problems of social maladjustment that rapid technological innovation and industrial expansion caused. James Cattell, a founder of the modern testing movement, saw psychology as providing the practical application necessary to change human nature. William James, who helped to define pragmatism, as well, saw psychology as offering the practical technologies to change individuals:

> What every educator, every jail-warden, every doctor, every clergyman, every asylum-superintendent asks of psychology is practical rules. Such men care little or nothing about the

> ultimate philosophic grounds of mental phenomena, but they do care immensely about improving the ideas, dispositions, and conduct of the particular individuals in their charge.[14]

While different psychologies emerged, such as the pragmatism of James or the behaviorism of Hall and Thorndike, these psychologies were plausible elite responses to institutional, cultural and economic conditions. The new psychologies were functional in orientation. The larger problems of consciousness was ignored to place an emphasis on the biological organism's adjustment to its environment. Instead of focusing on mental contents, functional psychology examined mental activity as the acquisition, retention, organization and evaluation of experience that, in turn, was viewed as guides to adaptive behavior. The disposition was to examine mental operations rather than mental contents, and the mind as primarily mediating between the environment and the needs of the organism.

The functionalism was part of Thorndike, Hall, Mead and Dewey's work, although the vision of society that underlies the theories had different implications. Dewey, for example, sought to rescue religious belief by creating an appropriate science of ethics and education. His psychology considered conscious thought as a response to living problems encountered by an organism seeking to adjust itself to its environment. The new scientific psychologies drew, in contrast, upon phrenology as a systemic approach that was objective in method, functional in approach, practical in scope and concerned with the assessment of individual differences.[15] Phrenology was to measure the brain to judge mental capacity and later to rank social groups in the eugenics movement. While it became discredited in scientific circles, the methods of phrenology, according to O'Donnell, provided the underpinnings of a psychology of learning and individualization. The phrenological origins of psychology were lost in pronouncement of a science of behaviorism that gave focus to an objective science that could measure individual differences.

The rituals of science gave legitimacy to the social and political concerns of the new disciplines. Many of the early American psychologists traveled to Germany in the late 19th century to study the new science being founded in the research oriented German universities. Upon return to the United States, however, these men took back the procedures of the laboratory but not the general orientations and intellectual interests of the German scientists. United States psychologists developed a distinct disciplinary interest that meshed with the new service function of the university that Silva and Slaughter describe. The interest in personal capability and character linked psychology with the utili-

tarian concerns of American institutions. The discipline was first linked to schooling, but then developed relations with industry, commerce and the new field of advertising.

The search for scientific legitimacy, O'Donnell argues, was based upon a language of physics but practices of engineering. American psychology "in general would flourish neither as mental discipline nor as research science but as the intellectual underpinning and scientific legitimater of utilitarian pursuits, especially in the field of education."[16]

The functions of psychology for inculcating belief and disseminating practical knowledge were well suited to the demands and expectations of a forming public school. The issues of social control became an explicit problem in the schools as educators confronted urbanization, immigration and industrialization.[17] The schools provided the majority of resources available to give the emerging occupation careers and "data." Between 1902 and 1920, a school was built every day. More money was spent in education than in social welfare and defense combined. Most of the careers of the early psychologists were in normal schools or university pedagogy departments.

Psychology also provided a way of structuring the ideology of individualism that was undergoing a transformation in the late 19th century. Karier argues that William James built a psychology upon a belief about an idealized meritocratic order. James transformed an early 19th century ideology of political economy that emphasized the independent, separate, responsible free agent into a science of the individual. The psychology, Karier asserts, reflected James' own social position and biography. In contrast, George Herbert Mead and his close friend, John Dewey sought to reconstruct the meaning of individualism as economic and social transformation brought about new relations of individuals to a corporate world. Mead and Dewey were concerned with ameliorating social conditions generated by extreme inequality through the institution of practical, intelligent reforms undertaken by the state. It is these social and cultural assumptions that form an horizon to the curriculum debates of the late 1800s to the present.[18]

In an irony to the conventional intellectual history, the movement of psychologists to Germany was most influential in the construction of political reforms. George Herbert Mead, Karier argues, became interested in how the German state responded to the threat of socialism through social and welfare legislation that reestablished conditions of stability and harmony. Much of the Progressive Era reforms to emerge after 1880 had similarity to the practice found in Germany.

O'Donnell's book provides a study of the complex processes of social formation of the intellectual: the interrelation of state, biography, university and other institutions in the creation of the academic discipline of psychology. Its development and legitimacy had little to do with the public criteria which we associate with science. Karier's biographies focus upon the interrelation of biography, institutions, and structure; there is a general feeling of incompleteness: an examination of thought without sustained consideration of social structure and history. Important to the Progressive Era, for example, was the interrelation of religion with civic reform. The social gospel movement in the churches and Protestant scholasticism in the universities sought to redefine salvation and sin in a manner that would maintain social harmony. The biographies of James, Mead, Thorndike, Watson and Hall would be better situated if related to these larger movements in society, in the models of progress and change that underlay religious thought, and in institutional developments among the middle and elite groups in society, as in the university.

The Politics of Omission and Adaptions: Critique and Accommodation from the 1930s to 1950s

While this essay has focused upon dominant interests in the social sciences, there were alternative and oppositional voices. While the period between 1900 and 1940 contained critical intellectual debates, the emerging domination of behavioral sciences in the universities structured out conflict paradigms that focused upon relational issues of society, politics and schooling. The sociological work of Willard Waller during the 1920s and 1930s, for example, was not valued in the field until three decades later when conflict approaches were brought back into vogue.[19] The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, the Psychological League of New York City and the New America, received little or no institutional support from the American Psychological Association during the depression years.[20] Debates about social class and race during the depression and early years of the war,[21] and the conflict theories of the 1940s became a "hidden" element of social science and public discourse by the 1950s.

Two recent books about radical intellectual thought provide some insight into the social dynamics in which critical discourse made an accommodation with the existing institutions of capitalism in the United States. The books are part of a new series on the history of U.S. thought and culture.[22] Terry Cooney's *The Rise of the New York Intellectual* and Howard Brick's *Daniel Bell*

and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism give focus to a community of intellectuals who were urban in outlook, cosmopolitan in values, and initially radical as they defined a relation between their vocation and political practice. In each book, the motivation for intellectual work is sought not only in the bounded discourse of the participants but in its intersection with historical events that make plausible the manner in which ideas are conceptually shaped.

The stories begin with children of urban immigrants who reached adulthood during the depression, with a crisis of European socialist politics reaching to America and a development of a specific United States literary tradition. Urban intellectuals, mostly living in New York, felt the tremendous appeal of Marxism in the early years of the decade and sought to combine their vocations with creating new social and political forms. By the late 1940s, however, there was a movement to liberal thought, a loss of marginality, and the foregoing of a political agenda of radical change as national and international conditions changed. These changes were not only a response to the challenges to radical idealism of the 1930s, but were also responses to complex shifts in liberal ideology and institutional pressures that structured out opposition discourses.

Central to Cooney's *New York Intellectuals* was the journal, *The Partisan Review*. The literary journal, which has been extensively written about in recent years, was initially aligned with the Communist Party. Socialist politics were to be combined with cultural analysis and critique. A unique quality of the journal was to form an aesthetic criticism that considered history and social meaning. The editors of the journal were Phillip Rahv and William Phillips, who worked with many of the major intellectuals of the time, such as Lionel Trilling, Dwight Macdonald, Sidney Hook, Mary McMarthy, Harold Rosenberg, and Delmore Schwartz. Others, such as Daniel Bell, appear as part of a more distant cast, working in New York and Chicago. By the mid-30s, and early 40s, the editors and contributors of the journal rejected the dogma and repressive measures they saw emerging from the American Communist Party and the policies of the Soviet Union under Stalin.

A significant theme in assessing the shift to liberal thought, according to Cooney, was the conflict among the left as they confronted the depression, the Moscow trials, the assassination of Trotsky, the events of Hitler's Germany, the Soviet-German pact, and the eventual entering of the United States into World War 2. Among the left adversaries of *The Partisan Review*, we witness the transformation of ideological agendas into an orthodoxy that denied the humane values and the search for social and political values emphasized by the New York Intellectuals. *The Partisan Review* editors' and contributors' struggle

against the boycotts and pressures of the Communists and, later, the Trotskites, provided provocative tales that involve an accommodation with a liberal center in the United States.

Cooney provides two explanations of this movement. First, he argues that the cosmopolitan views of the New York Intellectuals were in agreement with the change in national ideology that developed at the end of the war. As the United States emerged as a dominant world power, the liberal rhetoric generated a national euphoria about the building of a new order based upon openness, rationality, reason and material abundance. The American role was seen as not only preventing another war but guiding a recovery in which the rebuilding of societies was to reflect a liberal, progressive image of the United States.

The feeling of a new millennium was not only felt in literary and social science circles. A reading of the Allied High Command efforts for restructuring an infrastructure for Japan and German societies after the war illustrates the strong representation of the ideology of progressive thought. The High Command of MacArthur in Japan, for example, sought to impose a progressive education in the schools which emphasized individual autonomy and citizenship based upon U.S. liberal democratic values.

The core values of the new U.S. millennium were consistent with what Cooney calls the cosmopolitan values of *The Partisan Review* editors. These values entailed a spirit of openness, a striving for a fuller understanding of the world through an internationalism, and a higher and more inclusive means of expression. Suspicion of dogma, and celebration of richness, complexity and diversity were important.

The acceptance of cosmopolitan values, Cooney argues, was related to the Jewish background of many of the original group in *The Partisan Review*. The Jewishness, Cooney argues, provided a marginality to existing Protestant bourgeoisie culture yet a belief that the culture and opportunities afforded by the American society would lead towards an openness in which free discussion and merit would prevail. The material prosperity at the end of the war and the expansion of opportunity in universities for Jews created a situation in which the marginality was reduced.

A second element in the movement from radicalism to Cold War liberalism was the manner in which the critique of Nazism was turned into a critique of the Communist party and Stalinism. The arguments about Fascism and totalitarianism that were developed in thinking about the rise and implications of Nazi Germany were, in turn, focused upon the political system and repressive qualities found in the Soviet Union.

The biography of Daniel Bell, in certain ways, intersects with that of *The Partisan Review*. Bell responded to the shifts in social and political currents as the left did battle with itself in a manner that was similar to that of the literary journal editors. But as Brick points out, Bell was a political activist who maintained a belief that his intellectual skills could work towards producing a socialist world. In contrast to the editors of *The Partisan Review*, Bell responded radically to the war as he saw a greater concentration of power, a new U.S. imperialism and the development towards a world capitalism. But Bell's social analysis was also accompanied by a movement from socialism to a belief in the welfare state by the early 1950s. The demise of a labor movement concerned with political as well as welfare issues, New Deal policies which contained many of the left programs, and the reaction of the left to the War and Stalinism, produced for Bell a political accommodation with American culture and economy.

Pragmatism, Progress and the Contractions of Left Intellectuals

The focus on the radical thought of Bell and the New York Intellectuals requires that we consider not only the conflict within radical groups but its intersection with the dominant intellectual traditions. Traditions of dissent and accommodation need to be juxtaposed to the standards of interests of those social and cultural interests that have power. Brick and Cooney suggest that the radical discourse of the 1930s existed in relation to the domination of pragmatism in American thought between 1880 and 1920. The editors of *The Partisan Review* reacted to pragmatism which, they believed, overemphasized the evolution of existing institutions and the power of intelligence in considering visions of politics and art.

To understand the relation of dominant and oppositional traditions, we must once again focus upon the social significance of John Dewey. Daniel Bell's critique of society, Brick argues, existed in relation to Dewey's progressve liberalism. Dewey's ideas combined a Darwinian view of evolution, an emphasis on social harmony, and a functionalism with a modernist faith in rational progress. Dewey recognized the crisis of culture that was developing in the late 1800s and sought to root out those elements of traditionalism that have survived and to overcome an evolutionary lag through the use of science. The notion of change in Dewey's work involved an essential unity of nature, reason, morality, and progress that were to be realized in enlightened action.

Dewey's ideas became important in philosophy, psychology and educa-

tion through the development of social psychology under George Herbert Mead and in the progressive pedagogy of the 1920-1930s. The current interest in symbolic interaction in social science and progressive pedagogy in contemporary schools maintain these earlier values but are often not recognized in the public discourse about social and educational reform.

Bell's analysis was a reaction to the pragmatism and drew upon the moral absolutism and political skepticism in the work of Max Weber. It was not until the late 1930s that Weber's work became translated into English to offer a serious confrontation to pragmatism. While many of the major European texts in sociology, political economy and political sociology were written in the same years that pragmatism was developing in the United States, the European texts did not become available in English until the 1930s. European scholarship, such as that of Max Weber, rejected evolution as a lens for considering change. Instead, there was a focus upon issues of the contradictory tendencies in Western societies that coexist and interpenetrate the conduct of political and social life. Bell focused the tensions in the emergence of the modern state, considering the centralization of power and bureaucracy as a tragedy of culture.

But applying European scholarship contained a paradoxical interweaving of radical tenets with the main drift of U.S. thought. The radical scholars existed within a larger milieu in which the concept of culture became a part of the politics of modern society and the focus of critique. Brick extends the analysis of Bell to include such groups as the Frankfort School, German emigrés who established themselves at Columbia University during the war. Brick argues that the manner in which radical critique developed needs to be seen in relation to the dominant politics. "The source of social critique was not in a rebellious class but in the autonomous individual who seeks refuge from an increasingly organized collectivity."[25] Brick suggests that Bell's work was consistent with the Frankfort School in offering "a negative critique of the function of social life that threatened to reduce reason to a mere instrument of production, or radicalism as a defensive struggle to preserve the conscious of the avant garde from the commercial juggernaut of public life." But the critique ignored revolutionary analysis by focusing upon a utilitarian culture, not on political institutions.

In its irony, the critical method of The New York Intellectuals and Bell's critical sociology was framed by belief in science as a source of rationality and system. Science, it was argued, "was the source of progressive charge, enabling man to overcome the conditions of his existence, to escape a staid situation not only in nature but in history." While critical science was to understand the facades that confront us in our everyday world, the New York Intellectuals placed too much faith in their own social position and the power of ideas as

separate from material conditions, thus accepting a fundamental dichotomy of U.S. bourgeois culture. A cultural mission of *The Partisan Review* replaced a combined political and cultural agenda.

The editors' response to the decline of confidence in the existing radical movement prior to World War II was "a greatly heightened emphasis on intellectuals as a special social grouping, on their traditions, and on individual creativity and integrity."[24] Intellectuals could stand aside from the ongoing political and social tensions and offer a corrective lens through intellectual creativity and imagination. The contraditions in the belief of a free floating intellectual who is socially located had no currency by the end of the war for the New York Intellectual.

While Brick and Cooney devote attention to the struggles of the left, the merging of radical with mainstream thought by early 1950s cannot be explained solely by the attitudes and reaction of the left. At least three elements of the larger political struggles in U.S. society need attention. One was the pressures on the discourse of social science as anti-communism rhetoric became more pronounced. Beginning prior to World War II, but assuming its height in the McCarthy Era of the 1950s, was a fear of engaging in criticism of social institutions as part of a general critique of society.[25] Cooney gives only a passing reference to this issue when discussing the publication of Dwight Macdonald's criticism of America's ideological justification of the second World War. The article was submitted to the *Partisan Review's* lawyer prior to publication to assess whether any laws were being broken. The lawyer responded by giving the article "a clean bill of health (while warning) that 'any future criticism of the war' might prove dangerous in the future."[26] The climate which "dictated" this call for legal review is not made central to the argument about the development of the general accommodation of liberal thought. The pressures of anti-communism and the triumph of positivism occurred not only in literature but in the social science and art of the period.[27]

A second element of the period was a pervasive belief in social equilibrium, the latter providing a dominating assumption in the academy. The tying of radical thought to the new millennial beliefs at the end of the war was part of the general feeling that the evil of the last war was defeated and now spiritual and material progress could be addressed. Bell's famous book, *The End of Ideology*, can be considered in this light. As Brick argues, it had a dual quality. For these who supported Bell's ideas, it signified an overly simple confidence in the social stability of Europe and U.S. welfare capitalism. To opponents, it focused upon the denial of the ideological biases of established social science, of repudiation of politics, and an acceptance of a technologically managed society.

A third dynamic for accommodation is an increasing professionalization in society. The McCarthy "period" had cultural as well as political implications. The legacy of the Progressive Era becomes more a central element of the U.S. social and cultural consciousness. The focus in art, science and social science shifted from moral and economic persuasion to a discourse of expertism, individuality and value neutrality. Debates about social purpose became discussions about technical advancement and material betterment. Systems analysis, budget planning and management perspectives that previously organized a war effort became a response to social and cultural issues of a post-war society. Social policy was seen by many as no longer involved in questions of ideology. Much of the U.S. literature of the right and left suggests that the problems of society were not systemic but administrative.

Neither Brick nor Cooney give focus to the existing hegemony as it acted upon the left. To quote from Brick, there is a regard of the participants as "intellectual[s] first rather than academics." Yet, the movement of thought during this period needs to be considered in relation to the growing dependence of the intellectual upon the university. It is no historical accident that the stories close with the major participants of The New York Intellectual Circle moving into academic positions. Little is said about Bell's university career except, as a passing reference, to the firing of professors for supporting radical ideas or refusing to sign loyalty oaths.

The relation of critical thought to dominant institutions provides a perspective to more fully understand the problem posed at the outset of these studies: to understand the intellectual as a social category, "working within a prevailing framework a balance of power between dominant and subordinate groups."[28] While the books furthers our understanding of the social context in which ideas are constructed, the complex relations among intellectuals, dominant institutions and social agendas are still to be explored.

Conclusions

The mythology and folklore of social science focus upon the development of procedures and the cumulative growth of knowledge. The outlook has been one-dimensional and, from my perspective, dysfunctional in giving greater integrity to the production of social knowledge. The social histories of the U.S. intellectual provided by these books are, therefore, a welcomed addition to our literature about our work and workplaces.

The books enable us to understand that the ideas we "own," the tradi-

tions we uphold and the conditions of our work are the products of past struggles, tensions and issues that are only partially related to what is thought of as "the scholarly quest." The production of ideas involves a complex relation of the institutional, economic, scholarly and biographical. We can begin to "see" the traditions of pragmatism, heroic figures as John Dewey, and oppositional spaces as relational to cultural and material formations that underlie the university and schools. To paraphrase the work of the French social historian, Michael Foucault, there is no subject prior to history and institutional power relations.

NOTES

1. Kerreen Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home, Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Mark Poster, *Critical Theory of the Family* (London: Pluto Press, 1978).

2. Leo Marks, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Image in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

3. David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind: 1890-1917* (Chicago, Il.: Rand McNally, 1970), and Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

4. Edward Silva and Sheila Slaughter, *Serving Power: The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), passim.

5. John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1876-1920* (New York: New Yor University Press, 1985), passim.

6. Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, W. Norton and Co., 1976).

7. Thomas Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

8. Silva and Slaughter, *Serving Power. . .*, p. 52.

9. Ibid., passim, and O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, passim.

10. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century: The Report of the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1986), and Holmes Group, *Teachers for Tomorrow* (East Lansing, Mi.: Holmes Group, 1986).

11. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, p. 54.

12. Ibid., p. 58.

13. Ibid., p. 119.

14. Ibid., p. 67.

15. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. Norton and Co., 1979).

16. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, p. 37.

17. Barry M. Franklin, *Building the American Community: The School Curriculum and the Search for Social Control* (London: Falmer Press, 1986).

18. Herbert M. Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

19. Donald S. Napoli, *Architects of Adjustment: The History of the Psychological Profession in the United States* (Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1981).

20. See e.g. his *Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1932).

21. Arthur Davis, *Social Class Influences Upon Learning. The Inglis Lectures* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

22. Edited by Paul Boyer of the University of Wisconsin, this series is in honor of Merle Curti, a founder of the field of intellectual history at that University.

23. Howard Brick, *Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism*. (Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 11.

24. Terry Cooney. *The Rise of the New York Intellectual* (Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 196.

25. C. Vann Woodward, "No Ivory Tower" *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 33, No. 14.

26. Cooney, *The Rise of the New York Intellectual*, p. 189.

27. See, e.g. Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*, A. Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, Il.: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

28. Brick, *Daniel Bell* . . ., p. x.

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